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ABSTRACT

The Eskimo and Indian groups native to the Aklavik area were studied by the author who lived with an Indian and an Eskimo family, and spent 3 months in 1961 in their communities. These people were described and analyzed with respect to deviance patterns and community social structure. Particular attention was directed toward the age groups of 16 to 19, and over 30. Factors considered in the analysis were (1) demographic structure, (2) economic activity, (3) native families and socioeconomic status, (4) institutions and social control, (5) ethnic relations, and (6) deviance. The results indicated that natives with traditional values and goals experienced little strain in community living, while those who were oriented to middle-class white values experienced a frustrating disparity between their goals and legitimate means of attaining them. Seventeen tables support the analysis, which was intended to serve as an exploratory investigation into the factors behind increased social deviance. (BD)

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DEVIANCE AMONG INDIANS AND ESKIMOS IN AKLAVIK, N.W.T.

D.H.J. CLAIRMONT

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DEVIANCE AMONG INDIANS AND ESKIMOS IN AKLAVIK, N.W.T.

by

Donald H. J. Clairmont

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre during 1961. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the north. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to V.F. Valentine, Chief, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

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INTRODUCTION

The central problem of this study involves a description and analysis of deviance among native groups in the Aklavik area. This report also attempts to describe the social structure of the community within which this deviance occurs.

No attempt is made in this study to directly test any theories of deviance. However, a definite theoretical orientation is followed, as a guide to the description of deviance and to its understanding in a particular social setting. The theory discussed in this study springs from the work of Emile Durkheim who demonstrated, in his classic work "Suicide" that suicide among individuals can be fruitfully discussed with reference to the social structure and its functions. (Durkheim, 1951) He introduced the concept, "anomie", by which he meant the absence of social integration among individuals in a society. Specifically, this concept refers to a society's lack of regulation over the desires of its members, "such that the individual's horizon is broadened beyond what he can endure or, contrariwise, contracted unduly".[1] Durkheim considered "anomie" to be a particular threat to modern societies and emphasized the importance of religious affiliation, marriage, and the family in achieving social solidarity.

Following Durkheim, R.K. Merton, in his essay, "Social Structure and Anomie" (Merton, 1949) argues that cultural goals and institutionalized means may vary independently of one another; this sometimes leads to social disequilibrium and social malintegration. Primarily, Merton was concerned with the ambivalence towards norms that is alleged to arise when common success goals are extolled for the total population, while the social structure restricts access to the approved means of reaching these goals for a large part of the population.[2] In such circumstances deviant behaviour will often ensue. Merton's analysis spotlighted the pressure which the social structure placed upon the cultural structure. By directing attention to patterned differentials in access to success goals by legitimate means, he indicated how "anomie" was produced by the resultant strain and showed how varieties of deviant behaviour (drug addiction, alcoholism) etc., can be explained as modes of adaptation to such strain. Thus Merton expanded Durkheim's treatment by enabling us to include, in our inquiry, results of striving for limited goals when the possibility of achieving them, legitimately is also limited.[1] His formulation also permits us to distinguish the strength of pressures towards deviance which originate at different points in the social structure.

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[1] He argued that the individual's needs and satisfactions are regulated by the society in that the common beliefs and practices the individual learns make him the embodiment of the collective conscience.

[2] Whether Merton fully captured the meaning of Durkheim's "anomie" is not a concern of this study. Role conflict and norm conflict have also been mentioned by other scholars as producing "anomie". Unfortunately, this term has also been used of late to apply to the state of mind of individuals regardless of the state of the society. The term as used by Merton and Durkheim refers to a social and cultural situation.

Particularly relevant to this study is the theoretical work of Bales (Bales: 1946). His theory on excessive drinking involves three interacting variables: (a) strain-producing conditions in the social structure, (b) the general attitude towards drinking, and (c) the availability of strain-relieving means or outlets. While criticism has been made of Bales' schema, his chief contribution was that excessive drinking behaviour must be understood in terms of structural strains generated by the social make-up of society, and that excessive drinking is only one among many possible adaptations to the existing structural strain. It is reasonable, therefore, that excessive drinking should be studied within a general deviance-conformity context.

Cohen, in a recent work, (Cohen, 1955) has made a major contribution to the Durkheim-Merton tradition. Merton had established a paradigm dealing with five possible kinds of adaptation to strain generated by the disparity between the cultural goals and institutionalized means. Cohen, specifically, concerned himself with the particular content of the delinquent subculture and the fact of its special distribution within the social system. In attempting to explain the delinquent subculture, Cohen emphasized the structurally generated pressures towards deviance among lower-class boys. The problems of lower-class boys are largely status problems, emerging as a result of their socially structured inability to meet the standards of the conventional middle-class culture. Establishment of the delinquent subculture, whose chief characteristics are non-utilitarianism, maliciousness, and destructiveness,[2]

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1. Some scholars consider this an important refinement, for probably few persons are afflicted with insatiable aspirations (Cloward, 1960).

2. Scheler's use of the term "ressentiment" (Scheler, 1961) is relevant in this framework. He used the term to indicate diffuse feelings of hate, envy and a sense of powerlessness concerning the expression of such feelings. "Ressentiment" was a product of a social condition-"specifically of positions of social inferiority and weakness, wherein occupants were unable to express their feelings of hatred, envy and revenge". Thus Scheler saw "ressentiment" as a kind of psychological adaptation among those who are socially disadvantaged in the realization of their aspirations.

is an effort to overcome these problems by providing criteria of status and self-respect which lower-class boys are able to attain. Finally, Cohen suggested that the crucial condition for the emergence of a new cultural form, in this case a delinquent subculture, was the effective interaction of a number of individuals with similar problems of adjustment.

It should be noted that Cohen is stressing a particular kind of deviant adaptation to the strain generated by the disparity between cultural goals and legitimate means. Merton's paradigm of role adaptations to such strain include other forms of deviance and even the possibility of conformity.[1] Merton did not specify the conditions under which particular kinds of deviance would be most likely to occur nor did he specify the conditions favouring a deviant as opposed to a conformist adaptation. He did however, suggest that the latter distinction might be fruitfully studied as a function of the degree of internalization of values and the amount of pressure in the social structure. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) have suggested that selection within the range of deviant adaptations also depends on the availability of illegitimate opportunities.

In the above theoretical orientation, it is clear that the response to such strain can take many forms. A basic principle of this orientation is that deviance represents a search for solutions to the problems of adjustment. Thus deviance is not purposeless, though it may be random and disorganized; "A person who gropes blindly for a way of resolving a a problem of adjustment is engaging in purposeful action even if the solution he reaches is senseless and self-defeating".

Important in the above orientation are the concepts of values and goals, means, internalization and strain. In this study, these concepts are to be understood in the following terms;

(a) values and goals: these constitute the cultural structure, and are modes of organizing conduct. Values are not the concrete goals of action but are the criteria by which goals are chosen (Williams, 1951). Middle-class values include long-range planning, ambition, individual responsibility, wholesome recreation, material gain and respectability. Middle-class goals include high occupational achievement, wealth and property, possession of social skills and being "modern" in orientation.

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[1] Cohen criticizes Merton's paradigm for failing to take account of non-utilitarian, negativistic behaviour. Moreover Merton's schema is not a general theory of deviance. Parsons offers a general theory of deviance which subsumes Merton's schema and which, in its classification of deviant responses, accounts for the adaptations suggested by both Cohen and Merton (Parsons, 1951).

(b) means: these constitute the social structure, and are how values and goals are achieved. The basic components of means are social relations. The means discussed in this study are the social class system, the family, the occupational system, the school system and education.

(c) internalization: the process of internalizing values and goals has three distinct aspects; it involves strong motivation towards certain goals, an ideal of self and a judgment of self in terms of certain standards, and the ascription of moral supremacy to certain goals and values.

(d) strain: this concept is used in two ways in this study. Firstly, it is used in connection with social relationships to refer to tension or factors preventing integration among roles and groups such as discrepancies in role expectations or models of reality. Secondly, it is used as a social-psychological construct, referring to feelings of frustration, tension, bitterness and ambivalence as a result of status problems, disparities between self-image and self-demands.

This report is particularly concerned with two age-groups in the Aklavik area, natives between ages 16 to 29 and those over 30 years of age. It attempts to explore the relationship of age and such variables as the internalization of white middle-class values, ethnicity, socio-economic status in the community and deviant behaviour. Since this examination of deviance occurs within a "culture-change" context i. e. Indians and Eskimos interacting with middle-class Whites, these two age groups are used in order to establish a generational picture of the effect of this contact.

It is expected that older natives will be oriented to traditional values and goals. Thus, in terms of the goals-means schema, they should not experience much strain, since it is likely that the legitimate means will be available for them to reach their goals. Hence the pressures to deviate should not be great amongst this group and they would probably consider their status improved in the new situation. On the other hand, it is expected that younger natives, between 16 and 29 years, will have internalized middle-class white values and will be oriented towards middle-class goals. Here the pressures to deviate will be great since, as we intend to show, there will likely exist for them a disparity between their goals and the legitimate means for their achievement.[1]

In this study two cultural groups, Indians and Eskimos, will be considered, and an attempt made to compare their reaction to the "change-situation". Also, settlement Eskimos between the ages of 16 and 29 years will be compared with "bush" Eskimos of this age group, according to the variables mentioned above. In addition to exploring the possibility of strain between goals and means among the native groups, other factors helping to account for deviant behaviour will be discussed. In this connection it is suggested that natives, whose parents have neither learned middle-class values nor whose behaviour reflects contact with middle-class white culture, will be more likely to engage in deviant behaviour. In such cases, a native's affective relationships with his parents will not depend on conformity to such values. It is also suggested that, among those natives who experience strain, deviant behaviour is more likely to result among single natives since there is less pressure upon the bachelor to conform to existing standards.[2]

The writer spent three months in Aklavik during the summer of 1961 in order to gather data on the values and goals of the various native groups, these groups were compared with middle-class white temporary residents, living and working in the area. This comparison with temporary white residents is important since, in the Merton schema, it is the extollment of common success goals for the total population which is crucial. No value scale nor questionnaires were administered (as the attempt was made to minimize the social distance between the writer and the natives). Rather, relevant "hard" data on the amount of formal white education, types of economic pursuit, dress and language were collected for each native group. This was supplemented by data on attitudes and evaluations which were obtained through prolonged participant-observation and informal interviewing during a three month period. This information

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1. These expectations have previously been borne out in studies of deviance among immigrants and their native-born children in the U.S. and Canada. It has also been shown that, the more similar the immigrant's goals and values are to those of the members of the receiving society, the more similar are the deviance rates, socio-economic status being constant (Cressey, 1961).

2. This was noted earlier by E. Durkheim in his work, Suicide. Because a married person has strong affective ties with his wife and children, he is more likely to be integrated into society. These people would also suffer' as a consequence of his deviance. Moreover, a married person is in a position to sublimate strain in hopes for his children or "take it out" on his family, thereby relieving his anxiety.

was recorded daily.

The data on deviant behaviour discussed in this study comprise work instability, criminal code offenses, excessive drinking, and illegitimacy. Of course, there are other forms of deviance occurring in Aklavik but the four indices of deviance selected are defined by white government officials as social problems and all are clearly and commonly referred to as deviant in terms of middle-class white values.

The techniques used in this study were of two types, qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative techniques included participant-observation, informal interviewing and direct observation. Quantitative methods include the examination and collection of all available records on the subject, such as educational records, employment data, demographic data and deviance statistics. Furthermore, a census was conducted in co-operation with the Territorial government.[1]

The approach involved in the use of methodological techniques was to garner insights about the social world of the natives as it is subjectively experienced by them and to relate these insights to findings obtained from an analysis of the "hard" data. To try to obtain insights in the above fashion involves, as one researcher (Goffman, 1961: x) notes, "to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject". For the writer, this meant participation in a wide variety of native cultural activities such as daily family events, recreational and religious activities. To more fully understand the community and its people, the writer lived with an Eskimo and an Indian family.

As a participant-observer, the writer also engaged in drinking and gambling activities with the natives. This served two functions; (a) it helped in understanding the nature of these activities and (b) it symbolized daily participation as "taking the side of the natives". To facilitate this interaction, the writer avoided any formal interviewing until the final two weeks of the field-study, at which time a census was begun. The writer assumed the "over-all" role of a disinterested observer concerned only with the economic activity of the area. To what extent the writer's role in the community influenced the investigation, it is impossible to say.

Finally the question arises as to the validity and meaningfulness of the data. In this connection several points are pertinent; (a) there is the element of validity and meaning involved in the self-confrontation of the data and its logical structure, (b) the totality of the data is more plausible than any single datum and renders the interpretation more meaningful and, (c) the data obtained from the qualitative techniques are consistent with the inferences made from the "hard" data which were collected.

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1. The census included material on the religious affiliation, ethnicity, sex and age, education, income, occupation and marital status of every member of the population.

CHAPTER I

DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE OF AKLAVIK

The Aklavik Settlement

About 1912, Aklavik began as a Hudson's Bay fur-trading post for Indians and Eskimos in the MacKenzie delta area. The town's greatest growth took place from 1919 to 1936: during this period, Anglican and Roman Catholic missions, an R.C.M.P. detachment-post and a communications depot were established. Aklavik became the focal point of the delta, attracting Eskimos from Alaska and the Arctic coast, and Indians from the southern regions. The census of 1931 revealed that the population had reached 411, comprising 180 Indians, 140 Eskimos and 91 Whites. The settlement's growth continued after 1936 with a steady influx of Eskimos and Whites and, by 1958, the population of the Aklavik area numbered 1500, made up of 384 Whites, 242 Indians and 883 Eskimos. At that time, the permanent town population was approximately 700, comprising 350 Whites, 200 Indians and 150 Eskimos.

Since 1958, there has been an increased movement into the settlement during which, residents of the outlying areas have become permanent town dwellers. This migration chiefly involved Eskimos since relatively few Indians and Whites ever lived outside the settlement proper. However, the permanent town population of Aklavik has decreased since 1958, due to the government's construction of a new town, Inuvik, thirty-five air miles to the east. The construction of Inuvik has resulted in large emigration of Aklavik residents; it has also diverted the flow of "rural" inhabitants from Aklavik to Inuvik.

The Population

In order to compare the data, divisions were made at ages 15 and 60. The population was broken into White, Multibreed, Eskimo and Indian ethnic groups. These groups were further subdivided as follows: (a) the White, in terms of permanent or temporary residence and (b) the Eskimos in terms of "bush" or town residence. Neither of the above distinctions was applicable to the Indian and Multibreed[1] groups. Finally, the population was described by marital status and, in this connection, common-in-law unions were counted as marriages if the relations were stable.

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1. Multibreeds possess both native and white heritage. Since most natives are not "pure-blood", the term is not exact, and community identification was used as the chief criterion.

TABLE I: Distribution of population according to Ethnicity[1] and Residence

Ethnicity	Number living in town No.	%	Number living in area No.	%
Indians	192	32	192	27
Eskimos	222	36	328	46
Multibreed	53	9	53	8
Whites	138	23	138	19
	605	100	711	100

Source: Census August 1961

The above table reveals that only Eskimos live outside the settlement in the Aklavik area. With the exception of 55 white government officials, all members of the area population are permanent residents.

TABLE II: Distribution of Population according to Marital Status and Age

	MALE					FEMALE				
Age	Single	Married	Sep/Div	Wid.	No.	Single	Married	Sep/Div	Wid.	No.
21-29	30	20	1	0	51	22	23	3	1	49
30-39	6	22	1	0	29	7	26	1	3	37
40-49	2	20	1	1	24	2	22	0	0	24
50-59	5	9	1	3	18	0	8	1	3	12
60 --	3	17	2	9	31	1	8	1	8	18
Total	46	88	6	13	153	32	87	6	15	140

Source: Census August 1961

Table II includes only those over 21 years, since no one was under 21 years and married in the Aklavik area, at the time of the census. The significant fact revealed by this table, is that over 50% of those between the ages of 21 and 29 were single.

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1. A person's ethnicity was taken to be that of the household head. If the household head was White, the children were classified as White.

TABLE III: Total Population according to Age

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-15	189	170	359
16-20	33	26	59
21-29	51	49	100
30-39	29	37	66
40-49	24	24	48
50-59	18	12	30
60--	31	18	49
Total	375	336	711

Source: Census August 1961

This table reveals that the population is skewed towards the younger age groups. The proportion of population under 15 years of age is roughly 50%, while the corresponding figure for Canada is 34%. The proportion of population over 60 years of age is about 7% while the corresponding figure for Canada is 10.9%. [1]

The Ethnic Groups

Whites

The White population of the Aklavik area is probably best discussed by residence pattern. Temporary white residents include government officials, (such as teachers, police, administrators), church officials and business men of the Hudson's Bay staff. Permanent white residents include those persons operating small businesses such as trading posts, and others engaged in trapping and fishing. Eighty per cent of the temporary whites are Anglo-Saxon. Permanent whites are of mixed European background.

The following table reveals the age distribution of the temporary and permanent Whites. Among the married Whites, only one temporary White is married to a native: all permanent Whites are espoused to natives.

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[1] Figures for Canada from the 1961 Census.

TABLE IV: Age Distribution of Temporary and Permanent Whites in Aklavik

	Temporary		Permanent	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-15	12	8	23	16
16-20	0	0	5	2
21-29	6	4	3	5
30-39	9	8	0	2
40-49	2	3	5	4
50-59	3	0	5	2
60--	0	0	9	2
Total	32	23	50	33

Source: Census August 1961

The above table reveals that the permanent white group contains a larger number of older persons than the temporary white group. This is likely due to the brief tenure of temporary Whites in the area. It also reflects the fact that the married permanent Whites married natives, and thus the households of their married children would be classified as Multibreed.

Multibreeds

Multibreeds refer to household members where the household head has a white father and a native mother; there were no reverse cases. Multibreeds are generally involved in the same kinds of work as the natives and have married into the native population. The Multibreed population is 53 persons, over half of whom are under 15 years of age. No Multibreed is over fifty years of age, and this group appears to be a "growing" one in the community.

Eskimos

The Eskimo group can be discussed in terms of residence and date of arrival in the Aklavik area. Settlement Eskimos include those who wage-work, hunt, trap and fish, but not those who, in addition to trapping and fishing, live permanently outside the settlement. Most of the Eskimos in the area originally came from Alaska. The more recent arrivals are commonly known as "Alaskan" Eskimos. Generally, Eskimos arriving in the area prior to 1951 are referred to as "MacKenzie" Eskimos. All Alaskan Eskimos live in the settlement. Mackenzie Eskimos constitute all of the "bush" population, and 37% of the town's Eskimo population. The population figures do not include all the Eskimos in the MacKenzie area who live outside the Aklavik settlement; it contains only those who are associated with Aklavik through geographical proximity and through participation in activities with Aklavik residents.

TABLE V: Distribution of Eskimos according to Age and Residence

	Settlement Eskimos		Bush Eskimos	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-15	57	61	31	19
16-20	11	9	9	5
21-29	18	17	5	7
30-39	7	12	4	4
40-49	9	5	2	1
50-59	4	3	2	6
60--	6	3	7	4
Total	112	110	60	46

Source: Census August 1961

The table reveals that the settlement and "bush" Eskimo population is skewed towards the under 15 year age groups. It also appears that the young adult "bush" population is small, and this reflects the observed migration of these persons to the settlements of Aklavik and Inuvik.

It was also observed that more than half of the total Eskimo population, between the ages of 21 and 29 years, is single. With one exception, there are no young married adults living permanently outside the Aklavik settlement.

Indians

All the Indians in the Aklavik area live in the settlement though many still trap and hunt. Almost all are of the Loucheux tribes.[1] Most of the

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[1] The Loucheux are a segment of the Kutchin Indian tribe; L6 and L7 refer to band identification, used largely for administrative purposes, nowadays.

Loucheux in Aklavik are in the band L7, the Fort McPherson band; however 16% of the Aklavik Indians are in the L6 band from the more southerly settlement of Arctic Red River. There appears to be no difference between L6 and L7 Indians in language or general behavioural patterns. However L6 Indians are Roman Catholic, L7 Indians are Anglican.

TABLE VI: Distribution of Indians according to Age, Sex and Marital Status

	Male				Female			
Age	S	M	S/D	W	S	M	S/D	W
0-15	48	0	0	0	53	0	0	0
16-20	6	0	0	0	9	0	0	0
21-29	11	3	0	0	5	3	2	0
30-39	2	5	0	0	4	5	0	0
40-49	0	3	0	0	0	10	0	0
50-59	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0
60-	0	8	0	1	0	4	0	5
Total	67	22	0	2	71	22	3	5

Source: Census August 1961

Like the Eskimos, the Indian population is skewed towards the young age categories. More than half of the population, aged 21-29 years, is single.

Demographic Patterns

There has been a rapid decline in the "bush" population of the Aklavik area, as the Eskimos have been attracted to the settlements. Using crude population data, it was noted that the bush population fell from 700 in 1957-58 to 106 in 1961. Primarily, it is the young, adult, "bush" people who have emigrated to the settlements. Among the bush population, there are no household heads under thirty years of age.

The government's construction of Inuvik diverted the flow of bush residents from Aklavik to Inuvik. Moreover, many former Aklavik town residents, Whites and Multibreeds, especially, migrated to Inuvik in large numbers. Over 200 Whites, among them many single white sailors, have moved to Inuvik during the past few years. With the largest population, and the only liquor store and hotel in the Mackenzie delta, in addition to modern homes and services, Inuvik has become the focal point of the area. With the decline of the "bush" population, Aklavik is becoming identified as a "rural" town, in contrast to "urban' Inuvik. For this reason, there appears to be constant movement of the Aklavik population, especially among those in the 16 to 29 age category, to Inuvik. Since the residence of Aklavik natives in Inuvik is often of short duration, it is difficult to obtain precise migration data.

The general population of the Aklavik area is normally distributed. The sexes are evenly divided, and each ascending age group has fewer numbers in it than the one below. In general, sharp population increases or decreases are likely when one age-cohort, which is out of normal proportion to its surrounding age-cohorts, moves into the child-bearing phase of life. In the Aklavik area, such an increase seems likely, as there is an abnormally high proportion of persons of fifteen years and under. Moreover, the increasing availability of medical attention,[1] the improvement in diet and clothing, the increasing education of the population, and government welfare policies have reduced and should continue to reduce, the death rate.

Three variables are important in the consideration of the gross number of births. They are the marriage rate, the age at marriage and the pattern of family size. The pattern is for large families among the natives with the model family size being slightly more than nine persons. The relationship between the marriage rate and the age at marriage is such that, other things being equal, the earlier the age of females at marriage and the larger the proportion of females married, the higher the number of births.

By analyzing marriage data through time, a strong trend towards postponement of marriage, beyond what would have been normal for natives a generation ago, was observed. For this discussion, the population of cases studied, was split into two time periods - the period 1928 to 1944 and the period 1945 to 1961.

TABLE VII: Age at First Marriage for Aklavik Natives[2] according to Sex and Time

Age	1928-1944				1945-1961			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
20 and under	12	8	64	53	3	2	~~4~~42	31
25 and under	70	45	92	76	71	48	92	65
over 25	30 ?	20	8	7	29	20	8	6

Source: R.C.M.P. vital statistics for the Aklavik area.

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[1] The Mackenzie area has a modern and well staffed hospital at Inuvik. Tuberculosis is becoming less common. The census revealed that more than 25 natives over the age of 30 had been hospitalized for tuberculosis, whereas only 10 in the 16-29 and 13 in the 15 and under age groups were so hospitalized. These figures indicate a great decline in tuberculosis, especially as, when the rate is constructed in terms of the population in each group, it is obvious that the 15 and under group, constituting 52% of the population has the lowest rate.

[2] The natives were not divided into Indian, settlement and "bush" Eskimo groups for this analysis as the numbers were too few.

Two significant patterns appear in the above table. In both time periods, females married earlier than males. However, there is a trend to greater similarity between males and females with regard to age at marriage. In the time period, 1928 to 1944, 44% of the marriages were between those whose age difference was less than five years, whereas the corresponding figure for the period 1945 to 1961 was 63%.

Where the ages differ by more than five years, it is generally the male who is the older party. Thus it is clear that the younger native generation is tending to follow the middle-class "age at marriage" pattern.

The table also suggests that both males and females are postponing marriage, in comparison to the pattern a generation ago. However, first marriage continues to occur before the age of 25. Figures for Canada show that the average age at first marriage is about 23 years for females and 26 years for males. Therefore, the Aklavik population might still be classified a "young-marrying" population, gradually approximating the Canadian average.

The marriage rate among Aklavik natives has declined in the last decade and is lower than the Canadian rate.

TABLE VIII: Marital Status and Age of Permanent Aklavik Population

	Male					Female				
Age	S	M	S/D	W	Total No.	S	M	S/D	W	Total No.
16-20	100	0	0	0	33	100	0	0	0	26
21-29	62	36	2	0	45	48	44	6	2	46
30-39	20	80	0	0	20	21	69	0	10	29
40-49	5	85	5	5	22	0	100	0	0	21
50-59	13	60	7	20	15	0	65	10	25	12
60--	10	54	6	30	31	6	44	6	44	18

Source: Census August 1961

Of the total permanent area population over 15 years of age, 51% are not married. This is much higher than the corresponding figure of 34% for Canada. Considering just the male and female Aklavik population, the respective proportions are 53% and 49%. It appears that the crucial difference between the Canadian and Aklavik rates is the large number of single persons in the 16 to 29 age category in Aklavik.

Illegitimacy

The low marriage rate in the Aklavik area appears related to the high rate of illegitimacy among native females. Of all the single females in the permanent Aklavik area population, 62%[1] have had at least one illegitimate child, 24% more than one. Among the native groups[2], 59% of the single Indian females, between 16-39 years, had at least one illegitimate child while the corresponding percentage for settlement Eskimo females was 55%, and, for the Eskimo females whose parents live in the bush, the percentage was 71%.

Illegitimacy is a new phenomenon, in important respects, amongst Aklavik area natives. Pre-marital sex relations were common prior to native contact with the Whites, and it was customary, that if a female became pregnant, marriage would ensue. Today, it seems that having illegitimate children seriously reduces the possibility of marriage. In general, the problem of illegitimacy, like the changing "age at marriage" pattern, can be seen in the context of middle-class Canadian norms on marriage becoming internalized by Aklavik natives.

Given the social organization of traditional native society, marriage was probably a necessity. This is less true in the present period. Having children, be they illegitimate or not, now militates against marriage. Formerly, widows and widowers with children generally remarried, but, now remarriage is infrequent.[3] Besides sharing certain general disadvantages with a widow who has children, the contemporary unwed mother carries a moral stigma. There appears to be a great difference among generations in native attitudes towards females having illegitimate children. Older natives frequently refer to an unwed mother as being "silly", or as having made a "stupid mistake".

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[1] The total number in this group is 58.

[2] The White and Multibreed groups were excluded as the relevant populations were too small. The number of Indian females discussed is 22, while the number of settlement and "bush" females discussed is 18 and 14 respectively.

[3] This fact might help explain the high proportion of single persons aged 16 to 29 years. Formerly, the widowed often married into this group.

They do not strongly condemn such behaviour, and do not refer to such females as "bad", nor do they refer to illegitimacy as "bad". But young natives, aged 16 to 29 and living in the settlement, disapprove of such females, referring to them as "loose" or as "whores". Several young native adults reported that they would never marry such females. It was observed that it was not uncommon for young natives, when angry or in a "teasing" mood, to verbally attack the morals of females who had illegitimate children. That the young unwed mothers similarly evaluate themselves is revealed by their own erratic behaviour.[1]

According to the statistics, illegitimacy is common among single native females. In terms of social attributes, single native females without illegitimate children do not appear to differ from those who have illegitimate offsprings. No differences could be found in religious affiliation, church attendance, ethnicity (Indian and Eskimo) or occupation of parent. All native females, even the few nurse-aides, were ignorant of birth control methods. Illegitimacy appears to bear no relation to frequency of intercourse. Data gathered from Inuvik revealed that the proportion of native females who have had venereal disease is the same for both groups of native females.

Because of the common occurrence of illegitimacy, there undoubtedly exists, even among young native adults, some ambivalence in moral judgment, since their own sisters and relatives are also likely to belong to the "unwed mother group". Yet it is apparent that there is a moral stigma, and that it militates against marriage. The effect is further compounded by economic changes, for the "pulls" towards marriage have decreased. The economic instability in the settlement, where most young adults are only casually employed, hampers marriage.

Lastly, there is another important factor relevant to the discussion of illegitimacy, namely the superordinate subordinate (White-native) relationships in the area. This factor is especially meaningful owing to the presence of single white young adults, temporarily residing in the area. Native females favour White males, since they possess the qualities and skills which the females value, such as money, power, dancing ability and other techniques of romantic love. Interésting in this connection, is the native female's habit of reading "Love" magazines, and the "pen-pal" columns of publications, such as "Hush", in which the desirable qualities of mates are stated. Thus native girls often speak, disparagingly, of native males who do not, as often as Whites, possess these attributes.

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[1] See Chapter Five.

In their association with the white males, it appears that status aspirations are dominant. However, the status differential and "nativeness" of the females render their hopes illusory. White males seldom plan to marry natives. The preference of native females for white males, seems to have lowered the self-image and status of native males who are quite hostile towards the single white males and native females.[1]

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1. An indication of th[illegible] hostility towards these Whites is the fact that Indians and Eskimos, age 16 to 29, have banded together to give battle to the Navy Whites.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Traditional Economic Activity

The traditional economic activities[1] of trapping, whaling and fishing are declining, both as a source of income and as regards the number of natives involved in these activities. Their role in the economy of the Aklavik area is becoming increasingly marginal. All three activities involve direct action with the natural environment, and the only persons engaged are "bush" Eskimos and the few old, permanent Whites. In general, young settlement native adults lack the skill and equipment to engage in traditional economic activity, to the point where they could gain a "desirable" standard of living. But, more important, they lack the motivation to work seriously in such activities.

Trapping

The trapping of animals and the selling of fur pelts by natives in the Aklavik area dates back to 1840. However, trapping became extensive only after 1930 and, a decade ago, was a "million dollar business". Although there as been a steady decline during the last decade (trapping in the area, is now referred to as a "$100, 000" activity), two factors in the fur trade have always varied-" the cyclical fluctuation of the animals and the instability of price fixed largely by capricious fashion". (Wonders, 1961: 141).[2] However the trapper has found himself faced with steadily rising costs for the goods he needs. The post-war development of synthetic fur fabrics has been another blow to the industry. Thus, the value of fur pelts has decreased. However, in attempting to assess trapping, economically, it should be noted that it is a seasonal activity, and those who trap also fish in the summer and, occasionally, obtain temporary wage-work. In recent years, the maximum income earned by trapping alone, by any person, was $3500. Few trappers ever earn this much;[3] however, by taking

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1. "Traditional" is used here with reference mainly to the young native adults. From their point of view, trapping, whaling and fishing, are traditional native activities. However for some of the older natives in the Aklavik area, traditional economic work implies hunting, fishing and the absence of the cash economy. Although historical data are lacking, it appears that most Aklavik natives have been at least partly influenced by the cash economy since the early part of the twentieth century. For an account of traditional economy in this region, see D. Jenness (1960) and J.D. Ferguson (1961).

2. For a description of the animals trapped, the fur prices and the general organization of trapping see appendix I.

3. The total annual trapping income for the group of consistently successful trappers in the Aklavik area (those recognized in the community as good trappers and earning at least $1000. per trapping season) for the seasons of 1960 and 1961, was about $32, 000. or an average of $1700 per trapper, per season.

summer wage-work in Aklavik, they often earn a comfortable income. Thus trapping is economically remunerative, especially in Aklavik, where the demand for wage-work is low and the skills lacking for anything other than a "labouring" job. Yet few young settlement natives engage in trapping, and it appears that their idea of a desirable style of life has changed as a consequence of exposure to middle-class Canadian culture.

Trappers and Their Incomes

Trapping is defined as a man's job in the Aklavik area, though wives often help their husbands with the skinning. Older widowed and single females living in the "bush" also trap; there were nine cases of such females trapping but, in all these cases, the income derived was negligible, and averaged only $100. per trapping season. Amongst the males, trapping is largely carried out by older natives, "bush" Eskimos and the few permanent Whites.

TABLE IX: Males Earning Over $400. per annum by Trapping According to Age and Ethnicity

Age	Whites	Multibreeds	Indians	Settlement Eskimos	"Bush" Eskimos
16 to 29	3 (8)	2 (7)	4(20)	2 (29)	5 (14)
30+	5 (19)	2 (5)	9(23)	6 (26)	5 (15)

Source: Aklavik area Game-Warden reports of 1960 and 1961
Brackets contain the total population in each group.

It is apparent, from the above table, that among settlement natives a greater proportion of older persons trapped. The cut-off point of $400. was selected because it enabled a distinction to be made between those who merely caught the odd stray animal, and those who performed the trapping role. Moreover, since the only data available were the statements of catch given by each trapper to the game-warden, income, as stated above, represents the trapper's true income only if he sold all the fur he caught, and if the furs were all of highest quality. Thus, it is unlikely that anyone not earning over $400. caught anything other than the occasional animal.

It appears then that, with the exception of "bush" Eskimos, young native adults have no motivation for trapping. This fact can be more strikingly shown by the following table which excludes from consideration those who could not trap because of very old age, blindness, or because they were permanently employed in settlement wage-work.

TABLE X: Males, Excluding Those Unable to Work, Earning Over $400.00 per annum, by Trapping, According to Age and Ethnicity

Age	Whites	Multibreeds	Indians	Settlement Eskimos	Bush Eskimos
16 to 29	3 (8)	2 (7)	4 (19)	2 (25)	5 (14)
30+	5 (8)	2 (2)	9 (15)	6 (15)	5 (11)

Source: Aklavik area Game-Warden reports of 1960 and 1961
Brackets contain the total population in each group.

It is apparent that young settlement natives are no longer seriously involved in trapping. Amongst those few who have earned over $400. annually by trapping, it is rare to trap anywhere except close to the settlement. The consistently successful trappers, who earn more than $1000. per season, are the older natives, permanent Whites and "bush" Eskimos who trap away from the settlement. Since trapping equipment is not too costly, and is often available, lack of equipment cannot be the chief reason why young settlement natives do not trap. It also appears that lack of the appropriate skills is only of minor importance since most young natives gained their trapping experience by assisting their fathers, when they were younger. The lack of skill is over-emphasized as the crucial factor in explaining why the young generation do not trap; a standard community joke, shared by both Whites and Natives is, "if the economy gets much worse, the government is going to have to teach the natives how to live in the "bush" and trap".

It is likely that young natives who live in the settlement do not want to assume the role of trapper. As revealed by Table X, they even avoid it as a standby when other work is not available.[1] Those who do trap, rarely trap beyond the immediate vicinity of the settlement. Findings from a related study in Inuvik, appear to support this interpretation; most teenagers interviewed about trapping readily dissociated themselves from the role, professing total ignorance, when in fact many had much experience with trapping. Finally, this lack of motivation to trap is equally common among young Indian and Eskimo men. The only young men who do trap are Eskimos living in the

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1. To be unemployed is, among other things, to have an urban industrial role. Perhaps this is evaluated higher than being a trapper, by this group. If so, it is further confirmation of the analysis offered above.

"bush", and this group is very isolated from contact with middle-class Canadian culture.

Paradoxically, trapping, as work, rates poorly among settlement young natives, yet the successful native trapper is held in high esteem by this group. The two crucial factors in their evaluation appear to be the sense of independence associated with trapping, that is, the non-reliance on Whites, and the fact that high income is obtained.

In sum, though fur prices have dropped during the past decade, a strictly economic interpretation of the decline of the trapping role is inadequate. Whether more remunerative work for natives is obtainable is questionable. The economic possibilities of trapping have not been explored by the young settlement natives, and many do not trap even when idle. Moreover, there are models of successful trappers among the permanent Whites and the "bush" Eskimos. It is suggested that these young natives reject trapping since it is associated with a style of life which is alien to their new set of values.

Whaling and Fishing

Whaling and fishing, as economic activities of the natives, are "more" traditional than trapping, and bear a historical connection with hunting and an economy of subsistence. Fishing has always been carried out by both Indians and Eskimos of the area, but whaling has been restricted to the Eskimos. Of course, in the last hundred years, there have been interconnections between fishing and whaling and the cash-economy, particularly between whaling and the cash-economy in this area. For the natives, these activities have not been directly transferable into cash terms, but have been part of a general style of economic life along with trapping. Thus, whaling and fishing are summer activities, carried out in the non-trapping season, and provide food and dog meat for the winter.

During the past few years, the government has been trying to establish whaling and fishing on a sound economic basis. The government has operated on the "grubstake principle", whereby the natives receive, initially, a stake for food and fuel (in practice, mostly food) and, they, in return, repay the government from the proceeds of their whaling and fishing. The fish and whale meat are sold to the government at a fixed price per pound. In an effort to stimulate the economy the government has offered what experts think is a good price. However the project has been largely unsuccessful and, in many cases, natives did not even earn enough to repay the grubstake.

In general, Eskimos do their whaling and fishing on the Arctic coast while Indians fish around the settlement. The total number of Eskimos engaged in whaling and fishing, in recent years, is about 138 annually. It is usually old people and young children who travel to the coast each summer. Most of the "bush" Eskimos are also involved in these operations. Table XI reveals the membership of the Eskimo coastal camps;

TABLE XI: Distribution of Eskimos at Coastal Camps in 1960 according to Age and Residence

Age	"Bush" Eskimos	Settlement Eskimos	Total
0 -20	55(64)	38(148)	93
20-40	8(20)	10(54)	18
40 plus	16(22)	11(30)	27
	79(106)	59(222)	138

Source: Data obtained from local administrator
Brackets refer to the total population in each group
Our data precludes the use of conventional age categories.

The above table supports the observation that most of the "bush" Eskimos travel to the coast, though the proportion is less for those aged 20-40. The age structure shows a large number of children and a proportionately large number of persons over 40 years of age, for both the "bush" and settlement Eskimo populations. Among the settlement Eskimos, it is the pattern for older married persons, not permanently employed in wage-work, to go to the coast in the summer. Single settlement natives between the ages of 16 and 29 rarely engage in whaling and fishing activities on the coast.

The Eskimos at the coastal camps can be discussed in terms of values and approximation of behavioural patterns to those of the middle-class Whites. The old men and women are strongly oriented to traditional values and their style of life has changed little since their contact with Whites.[1] In contrast the younger married Eskimos from the settlement and the young "bush" adults can usually speak some English and have had some schooling. It is difficult to discover whether they are oriented to traditional or middle-class values. However, settlement natives between the ages of 16 and 29 appear to be oriented to middle-class values, and never go to these camps even if no other work is available.

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[1] See appendix II for a description of the style of life at these camps. It appears to resemble the traditional Eskimo way of life.

Thus whaling and fishing, like trapping, have been rejected by young settlement natives. Economically, whaling and fishing are not without possibilities. Unlike trapping and fishing, whaling necessitates costly equipment and this may help explain why natives avoid this work. However, were equipment available, it is unlikely that young native adults in the settlement would enter this occupation since it represents the traditional style of life. It appears that, with traditional activities, economic incentives would have to be inordinately high to attract these persons.

The lack of economic success among whalers and fishermen on the coast appears due to their lack of equipment and to their lack of motivation to maximize efficiency and profit. For example, their whaling and fishing camps are not the best spots on the coast for the largest catches. The Eskimos are aware of this, but prefer these places because they are traditional and because they can hunt and pick berries there. On several occasions, fish were allowed to rot in the nets when the Eskimos went hunting. Finally, these Eskimos did not appear concerned about repaying the "stake".

Fishing around the settlement is carried on by Indians. For a long time, Indians have fished in this vicinity and it continues to be defined as a traditional Indian activity by Aklavik natives. This was suggested by the following incident: The writer was visiting a fishing camp outside Aklavik where an old Indian enquired of his ethnicity. The writer replied, jokingly, "Eskimo", whereupon the old Indian replied, "if you are a huskey why aren't you up on the coast"?

Although fishing is financially remunerative and equipment is supplied by the government[1] and many young Indians are unemployed, fishing does not attract these young Indians. Three permanent Whites earned $2400. among them in the two month activity, and several older Indians were also financially successful in fishing. It would seem that neither lack of skill nor the possibility of financial success prevented these young Indians from engaging in this type of work.

Whaling, trapping and fishing have been rejected by Indians and Eskimos, aged 16 to 29, living in the settlement. As the government[2] has learned, even the possibility of fairly high remuneration has not been sufficient motivation for this group. The espousal of a new set of values, involving higher economic aspirations and "better" types of work, might account for their behaviour and attitude towards this work.

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[1] The government supplied nets and salt as well as a storage-freezer. The only thing not supplied was transportation. This was not too crucial as the fishing camps were not far from the town, and boats were available for borrowing.

[2] Some government officials have ceased to hope for economic success and justify the grubstake programme as giving older natives something they like to do in the summer. Other officials talk of increasing the price per pound for fish and whale meat, unaware that such a price would have to be inordinately high to attract the young settlement natives.

New Forms of Economic Activity

The new types of economic activity are a result of the increasing contact between Aklavik natives and middle-class Canadian society. Another result has been the introduction of bureaucratization as a work organization principle. Thus the new economic activity entails supervised, rigidly scheduled wage-work, as opposed to the non-supervised, "individualistic" and "irregularly" scheduled economic pursuits of trapping, whaling and fishing. However this change of work involves two distinct aspects. One is the introduction of the new type of work organization to traditional native activities, such as fur-garment production. The other is the introduction of new work roles, such as janitor and radio-operator.

New Organization in Traditional Activities

The activities discussed in this section fall into two categories, those performed by Indians and those performed by Eskimos. Thus logging and saw-mill work are identified as Indian activities, whereas handicraft and fur-garment operations are identified as Eskimo work.

The organization of the logging and saw-mill projects has been recently initiated by the government to stimulate the area's economy. The government pays[1] the natives to cut logs from the Aklavik forests, and to ship them to the saw-mill, where the logs are processed and used for construction. The natives are paid on a piece-work basis for cutting and shipping the logs and, on an hourly rate, for work at the mill. The logging operations are not "bureaucratized", as the logger is independent, non-supervised and can work whenever, within a given period, he finds it convenient. The saw-mill work is highly organized with a chain of supervision, fixed job routine, wage-scale and time schedule. Both the saw-mill and the logging projects are seasonal operations. The saw-mill operates from spring to fall while logging is winter work.

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[1] Aklavik is on the tree-line, and thus much lumber is available locally. However, much of the forest must be considered marginal from commercial point of view. The lumber is of poor quality because of the permafrost and, consequently, can only be utilized for rough purposes. According to the government programme, natives are paid to cut lumber at the rate of 15¢ per linear foot. They receive an additional 5¢ per unit if the cut logs are delivered to the mill. At the saw-mill the rate of pay is $1.66 per hour. There is a set maximum of 15 jobs for natives at the mill.

In 1961, 19 of the 23 natives involved in logging were Indians. Most of the men who worked at the saw-mill were also Indian and, at the start of the mill's operations, no Eskimos were employed. Since neither logging nor saw-mill work required special ability, and since both offered some economic incentive at a time when other work was scarce, this Indian exclusiveness can best be understood according to traditional attitudes towards types of work. The following event is illustrative: A group of older Eskimos were sitting around talking to a young Eskimo adult, recently hired at the saw-mill; one of the older Eskimos said to him, "you'll become a lumberjack pretty soon", whereupon, the other old Eskimos began to laugh.[1] Moreover, when two Eskimos began work at the mill, after the available Indian supply had been exhausted, it was believed that they would not perform as well as Indians. Although such work was considered contrary to the traditional Eskimo role, it was thought appropriate for Indians.

It appears that work with wood presents definitional problems for the different native groups. Older Eskimos avoid it, for it is something that, in their view, only Indians do. Younger native adults avoid it, for it is related to the traditional way of life which they reject. Young "bush" Eskimos also define it as Indian work. We would expect older Indians to engage in this activity. The data reveal that a larger proportion of older Indians, not elsewhere employed, engage in logging.[2] Yet, young Indian males do occasionally log, in order to earn a few "quick" dollars. With regards to the saw-mill, it has been observed that no Eskimos joined the project until the end of its seasonal operations and only after the available Indian supply had been exhausted. Finally, it should be noted that all the Indians fired by the white saw-mill supervisor were single Indians between the ages of 16 and 29. The older Indians comprise the stable labor that allowed the mill to operate.[3]

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[1] The point is not that this is a different or new occupation for Eskimos but rather, it is an occupation traditionally defined as Indian. Indians are lumberjacks. Thus there is a perjorative element in this term, as it is used by older Eskimos. Aklavik is on the edge of the tree-line and it was here that Indians from the "wooded" south met Eskimos from the "woodless" Arctic coast.

[2] An equal number of Indians aged 16 to 29 and aged 30 and over, were involved in logging. On controlling the data for the different populations in each group and for those permanently employed elsewhere, it is clear that a much larger proportion of older Indians log. Also those over 30 earn more through logging.

[3] More than ten Indians were fired during July and August 1961. In the last few weeks of the season, the white supervisor gave full command to his multibreed assistant. This man faced acute role-conflict in his relations with his workers and with white officials. Production dropped and morale fell to such a point that even a few older Indians were fired.

In sum, neither the logging nor the saw-mill projects attracted the young natives living in the settlement. This is likely due to their reluctance to engage in traditional economic activities. The traditional orientation among older Eskimos and "bush" Eskimos mitigates against their participation in such activities because these activities are not sufficiently removed from the traditional complex. Moreover such work did not offer the natives the hopes of great economic rewards. By middle-class standards, such work is of low status, and the young settlement natives are more likely to interpret the economic aspects of such work according to middle-class white values.

Handicrafts and Fur-Garment Production

Handicraft and fur-garment production are traditional native activities which have been organized recently and put on a cash basis by the government. Like logging, handicraft work is individualistic and non-supervised. The workers sometimes work at home. The fur-garment project, like the saw-mill, is highly organized with a chain of supervision, fixed job routine and rigid time schedule. Handicraft work is based on piece-work and the government purchases the finished objects. Workers in the fur-shop are paid on an hourly basis by the government. Both projects were initiated by the government in an effort to stimulate the area's economy and both are year round activities.

While logging and saw-mill work were almost exclusively carried out by male Indians, handicraft and fur-garment work are performed, largely, by female Eskimos.[1] The handicraft and fur-garment work involve sewing mukluks, coats, and parkas at the fur-shop and the making of toys and small wearing-apparel in handicrafts. This work is defined as female work. The only exception is soapstone carving which is the work of a few old Eskimo males.

The identification of handicraft and fur-garment production, as Eskimo work, is something that the temporary, middle-class Whites have brought with them to the area, not something located in the traditional norms. Work with fur has always been as common for Indian females as for Eskimo females. Indeed, the quality of the Indian work is as fine as that of the Eskimo females on goods such as parkas and mukluks. However, to "outsiders", Eskimos are more symbolically related to parkas and mukluks, the standard garb of the area.[1] Moreover, because the Department of Northern Affairs has responsibilities for Eskimos, and not for Indians, these government projects have often been formally designated as Eskimo. As a result of their awareness of the above factors, Indians initially avoided handicraft and fur-garment work. The pattern, in both types of work, has been for Indian females to engage in such work only recently. Their involvement was gradual and only with much belated encouragement from the local officials. As yet, few Indian females do this type of work.

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[1] The fur-shop is supervised by Whites and has a maximum labor quota of 15 people. The native weekly wage is about $40. The government's aim, in this and other projects is to train enough local personnel to the point where a co-operative could be established or, failing this, to produce enough trained natives to replace the Whites now holding supervisory positions. The main problem has been that the "reliable" natives were too uneducated and the well-educated were too unreliable.

In general then, the females employed in the handicraft and fur-garment production are older, married Eskimos. Of the $1, 080. earned by the handicraft project, between early 1960 and August 1961, Eskimo females earned $890. The following table reveals that most of the fur-shop's native employees were Eskimo women over 30 years of age;

Table XII: Distribution of Native Fur-Shop Employees According to Age, Ethnicity and Marital Status

Age	Eskimo			Indian		
	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed
16 to 29	12	2	0	3	0	0
30+	1	11	7	1	2	0

Source: Employment data of Aklavik Fur-Shop.
The total number of Eskimo females available was 76, while for the Indians, the corresponding figure was 48.

Employment records of the fur-garment shop reveal a high rate of turnover. Of its present members, only six Eskimo females, all over 30 years of age, have been with the project since its inception. The work record-sheet indicated three reasons for the high turnover. These were

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[1] This provides some insight into one major problem connected with this work. The government officials hope to develop craft and fur-garment production in the area. Since the Eskimos have a more exotic image in the wider society, this end is best accomplished by referring to the products as Eskimo, rather than MacKenzie delta native. However, this marketability device strikes many Whites and Indians, as being unfair to Indians who also account for the production of these goods.

(a) the females moved to Inuvik (b) the females became sick or had to care for children and, (c) the worker quit or was fired. A further analysis revealed that no pattern, in terms of age or social attributes, emerged in the case of the first two reasons. However, all workers who were fired or who had quit for no apparent reason, were single, settlement Eskimos between the ages of 16 and 29. [1] At the time of the field-study, no young settlement Eskimo females were working at the shop.

It appears that handicraft and fur-garment production largely involved older Eskimo females, and did not sufficiently motivate the younger, single settlement Eskimos. Since many of these girls were unemployed, this might best be explained as a consequence of their rejection of traditional activities and of their aspirations for a "better" style of life. Involvement in garment and handicraft work appears to represent, to these females, a self-image they wish to avoid. Thus the patterns revealed in this section are substantially similar to those discussed in connection with logging and the saw-mill. In both cases, the pattern was for young unemployed settlement natives to reject work because it was identified as traditional and/or of low status.

New Organization and New Work Roles

These new roles essentially involve employment with the government and private business in sanitation, maintenance, construction and clerical work. These types of work entail supervision, fixed wages and regular hours. Compared to traditional work roles, the work is highly organized and closely supervised. Minimum annual income for such work is approximately $2500., though some jobs, such as waitress-work, include room and board with a lower salary. It seems possible for persons engaged in trapping and fishing to earn as much as those in the new work roles but, in actual practice, those working in the new activities earn more.

The skills required for these new jobs are minimal; a working command of English is sufficient. However, three natives do have higher status government jobs. One is a radio-operator, two are work supervisors. Jobs held by natives with private business require little technical skill. Thus, almost all the native jobs, in terms of middle-class values, would be ranked low. Finally, all such jobs involve natives in subordinate relationships to white government officials or private businessmen.

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[1] There were eight such cases. We suggest that these persons lacked the necessary motivation for such work, since they remained in town and did not secure other employment. It appeared that they resented this work for they felt it defined them as "strange people" in the eyes of the Whites.

Both the government and private businesses in Aklavik have difficulty maintaining a stable working force, and it is, particularly, the young settlement natives who have a high turnover rate. All the natives now permanently employed by the government are married with families and, with two exceptions, are over 30 years of age. Amongst those permanently employed in private business, the same pattern holds.[1] Eleven natives are permanently employed by the government. Only six are employed by private business which is small in Aklavik and characteristically, employs Whites. Young "bush" Eskimos often come into the settlement for summer work, and white officials refer to them as "reliable, steady and happy" workers. Both the government and private business do offer much casual work to the natives, and this is the type of work that the young single settlement natives engage in. However, the constant complaint of government officials and private businessmen is that this group is very unreliable and not easily satisfied. While there may not be enough jobs to go around for all, many of the single settlement natives could have obtained permanent wage-work if they possessed sufficient motivation.

In most cases, drinking is the main explanation usually given by employers for work instability. It is interesting to note that of the eleven permanent government jobs held by Aklavik natives, nine are held by Alaskan Eskimos who are members of the Eskimo Pentecostal church. This church preaches total abstinence from alcohol and the Eskimo Pentecostal minister and his son are the two native work supervisors. Although employers usually associate drinking with job instability, some also report that young settlement natives are insolent on the job and refuse to perform menial or "dirty" tasks.

It appears that even wage-work is not attracting young settlement natives. Moreover, single young natives living in the settlement account for most of the wage-work instability that occurs. Unlike the older natives and the "bush" Eskimos, the young settlement natives appear dissatisfied with the opportunities this work provides.

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[1] Similar patterns are operative in Inuvik where the permanent native working force is much larger. In Inuvik, there are about 50 natives who have permanent wage-work. The numbers involved in the discussion of Aklavik social patterns are often quite few but Aklavik is a microcosm of the Aklavik-Inuvik area. Hence the patterns discussed have a broader numerical base. The author has recently returned from a field-trip in Inuvik, and found no evidence to deny the wider applicability of the patterns discovered in Aklavik.

Problems in the Economy

In general, most persons in the Aklavik area would say that the "employment picture looks rough". The government exercises almost total control over the economic well-being of the area. It operates the saw-mill, the logging programme, the handicrafts and fur-garment projects and employs most of the natives who are in wage-work. Private business, such as trapping, has declined in Aklavik over the past ten years. Yet the government is embarrassed if its mandate is interpreted as a regulator of private business rather than as an alternative to it. Since it has largely failed to attract private businesses into the area, the government has tried to introduce native co-operatives such as fur-garment production and fishing and whaling projects. Moreover the government would eventually like intelligent natives to take over from the trained white personnel now in the area. However, there are two outstanding problems. The best educated members of the community are the single young settlement natives, yet it is these natives who reject the traditional native activities and who are reluctant to engage in low-status wage-work.

Job Instability

It has been pointed out above that the problem of job instability is largely, though not entirely related to settlement natives, aged 16 to 29, particularly those who are single. By job instability is meant the continual losing or quitting of jobs without any upward mobility being gained or envisaged. By middle-class Canadian norms, such activity is considered deviant and the individual, who acts in this manner, is considered "irresponsible" and open to negative sanctions.

Job instability may be an indication of strain among young settlement natives arising from a disparity between their goals and the legitimate means available for them to achieve these goals. These young natives have much more formal education than the older natives and "bush" Eskimos. Moreover, many have travelled to Yellowknife and Alberta for special training in such trades as carpentry and heavy machinery operation. It seems likely that their greater exposure to middle-class Canadian culture has modified their values and aspirations. Yet the education and "special" training they have received equips them for only low-status, unskilled labor.

Of the 15 Aklavik natives aged 16 to 29 who have been specially trained outside the delta, only two (both of whom are married) are engaged in steady wage work. Of the 39 natives aged 16 to 29 in the Aklavik-Inuvik area, who were specially trained at Yellowknife, only three are steadily employed.[1] In Aklavik and Inuvik the same pattern of job instability is observed. How may we account for this?

In the first place the special training undergone by these natives was minimal. As a result no qualified secretaries, carpenters, or catskinners have been produced. Moreover, those natives leaving the community possessed a highly unrealistic picture of the significance of such a move. To motivate these natives to acquire new skills and knowledge it is likely that educators must, among other things, emphasize the prestige which will accrue from such training. This is clearly dysfunctional for other occupational alternatives in the settlement. When the young natives return from their training their wants and desires also have undergone change. However, they are unable to obtain the jobs they want and they refuse to accept anything less. As one local person said, "They take a kid out and give him training, then when the kid comes back he expects a good job and when he doesn't get it he will not do anything".

It appears that the young natives' rejection of traditional work activity is coupled with dissatisfaction with their level of participation in the new style of life in the community. Their reaction appears to be job instability and other forms of deviant adaptation. However, in both Aklavik and Inuvik, marriage is a crucial factor in this adaptive process and frequently effects a withdrawal from these activities and the start of a stable work role.

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[1] Data received from the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs. Only five natives over 30 years old have received outside special training. The special training programme has recently been "overhauled" by education officials.

CHAPTER III

NATIVE FAMILIES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

The Organization of Native Families

Prior to contact with Whites, the native family was the most important native institution, and the native social structure was little developed beyond the family unit.[1] The traditional Eskimo groupings were made up of small bands, usually consisting of a few nuclear families related by kinship. Amongst Eskimos engaged in whaling and coastal activities, these bands were more highly structured. The most complex Eskimo social structure was the village of approximately 100 persons, comprised of several families, at certain periods of the year, and featuring "a very elementary and restricted form of leadership". (Weyer: 1932). Amongst the Indians of the area, the family was also the basic unit, but kinship and political structure were more highly developed. The Indians had a chieftain system, but the chief was selected on the basis of courage and wisdom and did not have much formal control over band members. (Jenness, 1960). Since the establishment of Aklavik, native kinship and political roles have become less important. The native family, since the early part of the century, has trapped and hunted as a unit. Eskimos, who came to Aklavik from Alaska, emigrated one family at a time. Describing the social organization of a community near Aklavik, one scholar writes, "the only clearly defined social group in the settlement" is the nuclear family. (Ferguson, 1961: 53).

The nuclear family is the usual household arrangement in Aklavik.[2] The high illegitimacy rate complicates this pattern, directly affecting 34% of all native households. The presence of an unmarried member with children in a household changes the pattern to that of an extended family. Since unwed mothers generally contribute little to the upkeep of the household, this often involves strains for their families. Often, the unwed mothers deposit their children with their parents and return to Inuvik or, if their parents live in the "bush", to Aklavik. There are indications of the growth of matrifocal

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1. The best authorities on traditional native organization are D. Jenness,(1960) and F. Vallee, (1962).

2. See tables on the form of household relationships in appendix III.

households in the future; only one household is purely matrifocal in form,[1] but several unwed mothers live with their aged parents or are temporary residents in the households of relatives.

The fact that many households contain temporary residents further complicates the "nuclear family household" pattern. In most cases, the temporary residents are related, through kinship, to the family. Despite the economic burden of supporting relatives, ("temporary" residence often covers a long duration) and the overcrowding, this supportive kinship function is generally accepted by the natives. While the importance of the kinship structure has declined, it continues to operate, and complicates the nuclear family household arrangement. It was also observed that kinship ties appear to be relatively important in determining residential distribution.

From the tables, on the number of persons per household of the various ethnic groups in Aklavik, (Appendix IV), it is observed that the modal type of household for the Whites, both temporary and permanent, contains a single individual. The modal type for Indians and Eskimos contains nine or more persons. The number of persons per household, given in these tables, includes only those habitually residing in the households. The number of persons per native household would be greater if temporary residents were included, since at the time of the census, almost 20% of the native households had at least one temporary resident. To infer family size from a static description of household size is dangerous. Any statement of modal family size needs to take into account the age of the household head and the number of children at home. The optimum age, for close association between these two variables is roughly between 39 and 59 years. In this way, the pattern of large families, nine or more members, is more clearly observed.[2]

Importance of Family Size

The fact that natives have very large families and that the number of household members is usually greater than the number of nuclear family members means that the households are overcrowded, and that household goods, such as food and other material possessions, are scarce. According to middle-class standards, the social standing of native families, judged by

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1. In general, either the unwed mothers keep their children at their parents' homes or the children are adopted. In this latter way, illegitimacy affects family form as native adoption practices do not always mean the transference of "ownership" of the child to the adopting family. Because of this, families with some adopted children may not fit the classical nuclear family modal.
2. See tables in Appendix V.

selected socio-economic indices, is quite low. This means that, relative to middle-class persons, the native has a low ascribed status and that his chances of achieving middle-class goals are likely to be restricted. In itself, this might not generate any strain for him. However, where status differences are visible, and native family members are oriented to middle-class values such as material gain, competition, and the cultivation of manners, strain might ensue.

It is our contention that natives, aged 16 to 29, living in the settlement, are most oriented to middle-class values. Their "presentation of self" and the way they dress, clearly mirrors their identification with the material style of life of middle-class Whites. It was observed that the young natives, living in the settlement, wear shoes, jackets and other wearing apparel of the Whites, whereas the older natives and the "bush" Eskimos wear parkas, mukluks and other traditional clothing. Given the climatic conditions, these young natives dress less "rationally" than other natives or even than the Whites in the area. Thus, one observes young, native males dressed in black leather jackets, T-shirts and dress shoes, shivering in the Arctic cold. In this respect, they parallel many of their own age group and socio-economic status, in the wider society.[1]

Variables of Socio-Economic Status

The first variable to be considered is that of the nature of the dwelling unit. This involves the ranking of the various native and white groups according to the furnishings, room space, type and quality of their household arrangements. An index was constructed to measure whether a home was well, moderately or poorly furnished. Another index was constructed to measure room-space. Finally, an index was constructed to indicate whether the housing was good, fair or poor. A composite score was reached to enable discrimination among three general levels of dwelling quality. The data were obtained from the census. A more detailed description of the ordering of these data is given in Appendix VI.

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1. It was also observed that among the young settlement natives, long wavy hair is becoming popular; amongst the females, lipstick, other cosmetics and mail-catalogue dresses are the order of the day.

The following table reveals the relationship of ethnicity and the level of home furnishings:

TABLE XIII: Level of Home Furnishings According to Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Group	% Well Furnished	% Mod. Furnished	% Poorly Furnished
Temporary Whites	100 (24)	0	0
Permanent Whites	55 (11)	35 (7)	10 (2)
Multibreed	50 (5)	50 (5)	0
Settlement Eskimo	14 (5)	37 (12)	49 (18)
Indian	7 (2)	55 (16)	38 (11)

Source: Territorial census. Numbers in brackets refer to actual numbers. Data are lacking on two Indian and one Eskimo households.

The pattern revealed by Table XIII appears when room-space and quality of housing are examined. There is a vast difference between temporary White and native households. The level of furnishings among the "bush" Eskimos was not analyzed, due to lack of data, but, it appears that all the "bush" households are poorly furnished. The following table reveals the general level of dwelling quality of the households of each ethnic group;

TABLE XIV: Level of Dwelling Quality According to Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Group	% A level	% B level	% C level
Temporary White	100 (24)	0	0
Permanent White	65 (13)	25 (5)	10 (2)
Multibreed	40 (4)	60 (6)	0
Indian	18 (5)	58 (17)	24 (7)
Settlement Eskimo	17 (6)	37 (13)	46 (16)

Source: Census, August 1961. Numbers in brackets refer to actual numbers. Data are lacking on two Indian and one Eskimo households.

The probability of having a high status dwelling[1] varies greatly among temporary Whites, Indians and Eskimos. This discrepancy between

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[1] Of course, the levels are largely relative to each other, and to the Aklavik area. An "A" level dwelling would be roughly equivalent to a lower middle-class or middle-class home in urban Canada.

Whites and natives is attenuated by the fact that, in some cases, native families of low income received, from the government, free dwellings which were attractive and well-furnished homes. Amongst the Eskimos, in all cases of "good" housing and in many cases of "fair" housing, government support is the crucial factor. Of the 14 Eskimo houses owned by the household head, eleven would be classified as "poor", three as "fair". The remaining Eskimo houses were provided by the government, either rent-free or for a nominal rent.[1] Amongst the Indians the same pattern appears, although government assistance is not as great.

While a wide gap exists between natives and temporary Whites, there are some differences within the native group itself. The Indians own more of their homes than do the Eskimos.[2] Also, while most of the homes owned by the Eskimos were classified as "poor", most of the Indian owned homes were classified as "fair". In addition, the rating of Indian dwellings revealed that they are more uniform in standard than the Eskimo dwellings. Most Indian households are well-kept regardless of whether they are well-furnished. But if an Eskimo house is not well-furnished, it is generally "poorly kept". Finally, both the Indian and settlement Eskimo households ranked higher in dwelling prestige than "bush" Eskimos. This difference between "bush" and settlement Eskimos might be explained according to their degree of contact with Whites. The same type of explanation might possibly account for Indian and Eskimo differences.[3]

The differences between Indians and settlement Eskimos are not as significant as the differences between the temporary Whites and natives.

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1. In a few cases, natives rent homes from non-government sources or get homes rent free from relatives.

2. Nineteen Indians own their homes; nine of these are classified as "fair", five as "good" and five as "poor".

3. Prior to contact with Whites, Indians were more concerned than Eskimos about such things as cleanliness and with the tidy appearance of their homes. Moreover, their homes were better constructed, as they were less mobile. Indians in Aklavik often derided Eskimos for not frying food and for being "dirty". See chapter on Ethnic Relations.

Inferior housing has consequences for social status only if differences among houses are visible and if the members are oriented to middle-class values. The "socio-economic status variable" of dwelling prestige was discussed first because the differences between native and middle-class dwellings are clearly visible. Because of their poor homes, young natives feel socially inferior. In Inuvik, where white homes are serviced with bath water, thermostat heating arrangements, and all modern conveniences, and are segregated from the native dwelling, young natives feel even further alienated.

Education

Education in modern societies has been found to correlate highly with income and other variables of socio-economic status. Education of the parents is a crucial factor in determining the ascribed and achieved status of the children. In the Aklavik area, mission schools have been operating since the early twenties. Yet the amount of formal education received by the natives, especially older natives, is quite low. Considering native household heads, it is observed that none have had university education and only a few have had any high school training. Grade five was arbitrarily selected as a cut-off point: it was felt that household heads with more than five years formal education might know more about the formal education system, be more aware of its relation to high prestige and, be more middle-class in their orientation. The following table reveals the formal education of the household heads of each ethnic group.

TABLE XV: Households where Household Head has more than Grade Five Formal Education

Ethnic Group	Percentage with more than Grade 5	Total No. of Household Heads
Temporary White	100	24
Permanent White	70	20
Multibreed	40	10
Indians	22	31
Settlement Eskimos	11	36

Source: Census August 1961

The table reveals that only three Eskimo and six Indian household heads have had more than Grade five education. These persons also comprise the only natives over thirty years of age who have had special technical training. Most of the temporary Whites have had complete high school training, and several have had university training. The native parents' low formal education likely places restrictions on the chances of young natives' legitimately achieving middle-class goals.

Amongst the young natives, the level of formal education is greater than among their parents, but it is still far below the education of the temporary Whites and middle-class Canadians in general. For settlement Eskimos aged 16-29 the average time spent in school was about six years, whereas young Indians aged 16-29 spent an average of slightly over seven years in school. Settlement Eskimos over 30 years of age spent an average of slightly over one year in school and the corresponding figure for Indians over 30 was slightly more than two years. Precise data are not available on "bush" Eskimos, but excluding young females, the average time spent in school is less than three years.[1]

There are two other points of interest regarding the education of the natives aged 16-29. Females usually have had more formal education than males. Secondly, many of the young settlement natives, in addition to formal schooling, have had some technical training, either in the delta, at Yellowknife, or in Alberta. In general, young settlement natives lack the formal education required for economic success. Their technical training has been elementary, and they have not produced any qualified technicians. Thus, if the young settlement natives were oriented to middle-class goals, the possibility of their achieving these goals by legitimate means appears to be quite restricted.

Occupation-Income

In Aklavik, occupations range from seasonal work, such as training and fishing, to more permanent types of work, such as clerical work and labouring. In general, seasonal work involves traditional native economic activities, while the permanent types of work involve new work roles and hourly wage-labour. High status is accorded those in supervisory positions and the few economically successful entrepreneurs and trappers. According to middle-class standards, the remaining permanent, wage-work roles would be accorded low status. Since almost all the Aklavik natives are in "general labour" work or are economically unsuccessful trappers and fishermen, they are accorded low status. It was also observed that the young settlement natives shared middle-class standards of work. Yet they evaluated low status labour work more highly than traditional native occupations. Thus, in addition to income, whether a work role was "native" or "white" was critical in their evaluations. Older natives and "bush" Eskimos rated traditional occupations and general labour work higher than did young settlement natives and the temporary Whites.

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[1] The data were obtained from the census conducted by the author in August 1961.

In order to establish high and low income groups, an annual income of $2500. was arbitrarily selected as a cut off point. The data suggest that all persons in supervisory positions, the consistently successful trappers and entrepreneurs and most of those in general labour work earn over $2500. annually. Those ranking low on income are casual labourers, economically unsuccessful trappers, pensioners and a group of household heads who are employed in steady wage occupations such as waitress and worker in the fur garment shop. The following table reveals the percentage of household heads in each ethnic group whose annual income exceeds $2500.

TABLE XVI: Household Heads in each Ethnic Group Earning more than $2500. Annually

Ethnic Group	Percentage Earning $2500.	Total No. of Household Heads
Temporary White	100	24
Permanent White	60	20
Multibreed	70	10
Settlement Eskimo	33	36
Indian	19	31

Source: Census, August 1961

Table XVI reveals the vast difference between the temporary Whites and the native household heads. Indeed, this difference is clear even though the cut off point is low; if the cut off point were $5000., the temporary white percentage would still be 100, but the native percentage would be almost nil. However, in some of the Indian and Eskimo households, the household head is not the only income earner. Several wives augment the family income by working on handicrafts or in the fur shop.

Of all the permanent resident population earning over $2500. annually, only 11% are under 30 years of age, and all are married. Single natives between the ages of 16-29, are usually casual labourers whose annual income is about $1500. Most "bush" Eskimo household heads would have an income of less than $2500. Amongst the settlement natives, a greater proportion of older Eskimos hold high income jobs than do the older Indians. The Alaskan Eskimos, who are mostly Pentecostal in religion, have almost all the native government jobs. Clearly though, these differences among the native groups are small compared with the major differences between the temporary Whites and the Natives.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity itself is an important variable of socio-economic status. Until the past few years, the higher status accorded Whites was reflected in the greater legislative restrictions put on natives. For example, natives were not allowed to purchase alcohol. Nowadays, there are fewer legal restriction on natives, but higher social status is still accorded Whites.

Summary

It has been pointed out that the native family, nuclear in form and large in size, has been the key native institution, and that the native social structure was little developed beyond the family unit. It was further observed that the family in Canadian society is a major determinant of ascribed and achieved social status. By comparing native and temporary white families, in terms of the variables of socio-economic status, patterned differentials in access to middle-class goals by legitimate means was suggested.

It was observed that, compared to the differences between native and temporary white families, the differences among the various groups appeared insignificant. Of the native groups, the "bush" Eskimos ranked the lowest on all of the variables of socio-economic status. Perhaps the most important difference between Indians and settlement Eskimos was the near-monopoly by the Alaskan Eskimos of government jobs. Yet these differences among the native groups were small and, in terms of socio-economic status, native families are quite homogenous when compared to temporary white families.

INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Family and Control of Behaviour

Perhaps the most singular characteristic of native families in Aklavik is their role in the socialization process. Socialization refers to the process whereby new members of a social system internalize the values of the system, such that they desire what the normative structure allows. If a social system is well integrated, this generally means there is a high consensus with regard to the commonly desired goals and prescribed means for their attainment in the community. The family has generally been one of the chief institutions in the socialization process. In Aklavik, however, native parents, especially those over 30 years of age, do not possess an adequate understanding of the white value system and their socializing role, in this instance, is primarily performed by the white educational system.

The young settlement natives have a broader knowledge of the white, middle-class value system. Their sources of contact with the white middle-class way of life have been both formal and informal. They have received more schooling, both general and technical, than the natives over 30 years of age. Informally, through contact with the mass media, radio, movies and interpersonal contact with Whites they have learned middle-class ways. Moreover, having a better understanding of the English language,[1] they are probably more easily influenced by the subtle processes of the mass media and white middle-class values. Finally, these young settlement natives have travelled to Alberta, Yellowknife, and to other areas outside the delta.

Of course the generation of natives over 30 years of age is not completely ignorant of the middle-class value system. The missions, the R.C.M.P. and the fur trade brought them into contact with the white middle-class values. Yet this contact was minimal until World War II. Until then, only native children at settlement schools interacted extensively with the temporary Whites. The delta area has "really opened-up" only in the last decade since the federal government assumed a more active role, and the flow of middle-class white personnel into the area reached high proportions. Thus the possibility of native parents socializing the young natives in middle-class white values is, under these conditions, less likely.[2] Also important is that this Aklavik situation differs from more well-known immigrant

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1. Most natives over 30 years of age and also the young "bush" Eskimos have greater facility with the native languages. Data gathered from the census reveal that most young settlement natives can only "understand" their native language. The data also show that Indians over 30 years of age, more often comparable Eskimos, can speak English. One problem encountered with language was that young settlement natives would often deny any facility with the native language, when, in fact, they were observed to be capable of conversing in it with older natives. This exaggeration of their inability was also commonly made by their parents, who accompanied such statements with a benign gesture.

2. Certainly less likely than parents in the broader society where generally all parents have had some schooling, speak English and are influenced by a more expansive mass media.

situations, since Polish and Italian immigrants, for example, are more comparable to Americans and Canadians, in terms of values held, than are Eskimos and Indians. The culture-contact situation, discussed here, involves primitive and modern societies.

The internalization of values often occurs through interpersonal contact and, in the family setting, this usually includes strong affective commitments. This means that parents usually teach their children their cherished values in an affective manner. We have noted, too, that social control and socialization are closely related. Thus, a person with an internalized set of values, who is "considering" an act of deviancy, must contend with his "conscience" (internalised values) and also with the problem of losing his parents' affection.

In the Aklavik situation there are few family restraints against deviance. Native parents have neither taught nor socialized the young natives to middle-class white values and sentiments. Young natives have internalized these white values outside the family context. Thus violation of middle-class standards by young natives does not jeopardize their affectionate ties with their parents. A more complete statement necessitates some information about traditional native culture,[1] especially in so far as it enables a comparison of types of behaviour sanctioned and the degree of sanctioning between traditional and white middle-class cultures. Clearly though, amongst the natives, illegitimacy, job instability, etc., are new phenomena and it is the white middle-class person, rather than the older native, who strongly condemns this behaviour. Young natives can therefore deviate from middle-class norms without fear of alienating their parents' affection.[1]

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[1] Data on traditional norms regarding sex, theft etc., are scarce. We do know that among Eskimos, premarital sex activity was common and extra-marital relations were institutionalized by the "song-cousin" custom. Certainly there was a different attitude towards sex than that of the white middle-class. No data are available on Indian sex norms. See D. Jenness, (1960).

Because of the homogeneity of the older native population in Aklavik, it was impossible to ascertain the effect of native parents strongly oriented to white middle-class values, on the behaviour of their older children, as opposed to the effect of native parents who were oriented to traditional values. In the only clear case of a native household head appearing to be strongly oriented to white middle-class values, the native youths of this family did not participate in deviant activities. Clearly though, in most cases, the family is not a primary group sanctioning white middle-class values. Moreover the frequent changing of teachers and welfare workers precluded the likelihood of their establishing affectionate ties with the native youths whom they helped to socialize in middle-class values. In Inuvik hostels, where educators have prolonged contact with native youths and establish durable affective relationships with them, such youths engage in less deviancy. It appears that where native youths are able to establish durable affectionate relationships with middle-class persons, who help socialize them, there is less deviant behaviour.

In general the official representatives of the white middle-class society report that native parents exercise little control over their children. In court the only alternatives the magistrate has are to give native youths a fine or a jail sentence. Probation, under parental control, is ineffective. Native parents have not internalized the middle-class values to the point where they feel themselves guilty if their children deviate. This is not to say that the parents support native youth deviance, but rather that they do not understand nor effectively support the middle-class values. This fact is clearly seen with regard to education. Native parents agree that youths should continue in school and not play truant. Yet, they are not fully aware of the importance of education nor are they committed to achievement for their children. Therefore they do not exert strong pressure on them to remain in school, nor are they deeply disappointed if their children leave school early.

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1. Some scholars (i.e., S. N. Eisenstadt, 1956), have emphasized parent-child conflict in times of rapid social change. This raises the question of whether parental affection, in such situations, is at all relevant. It appears that the intimacy of early socialization renders the affective bond with parents meaningful to the child, regardless of later value changes. In Aklavik, native youth hostility was directed against the whites and white standards, not against traditional norms and older natives.

The older native generation agrees verbally with the official Whites that education is good, drinking and non-marital intercourse are bad, and that gambling and theft are wrong. However, they have not sufficiently internalized middle-class values to condemn deviance nor to understand the growing deviance among the younger generation. While the older generation natives do not engage in these forms of deviance, this is not because they are deeply and affectively committed to the white values, but rather because they are committed to traditional values and are more satisfied than the younger generation with the opportunities available to them.

The authority structure of native families is such that the children at home, aged 16 to 29, and even younger children, wield much "authority". Because of their greater understanding of the white system and of the language, the young natives often represent their family in its dealings with temporary Whites. Family problems, such as requests for relief require contact with Whites and are often handled by the young natives. Yet in the home, the "authority" of the young natives extends beyond this interpretive function. In some cases, parents even permit their older children to decide on the family activities for the evening. Most unexpected, however, was the role of the young natives, as purveyors of the white moral system. Thus young natives would occasionally lecture their parents on the morality of their actions.

Very likely, native parents make few demands of their older children because they need them as interpreters of the white system. Many older children, even when working, do not contribute to the family and often assume a parasitical role in the economic life of the family. A common pattern for young settlement natives is to work in Inuvik and contribute nothing to their families. When they are fired or become pregnant, they return to Aklavik and live off their parents. Clearly there is an absence of the quasi-contractual relationships one sometimes observes in middle-class families, where older children borrow money from parents under specified terms of payment. Perhaps, too, this parent-child relationship is related to the fact that, traditionally, Indians and especially Eskimos, were quite lenient in their socialization practices.[1] One major area of strain between native parents and their older children centers around the latter's lack of contribution to the family income. However parents seldom berate their children, and the young natives are somewhat oblivious to the wishes of their parents.

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1. See appendix ixfor a discussion of traditional native socialization practices.

In sum, it appears that the native family renders support, both material and affective, to the young settlement natives, independent of the system of white middle-class values. Thus the family restraints against deviance are minimal.

Religion and Control of Behaviour

The natives in the area have been "Christianized" since the turn of the century. At the present time, there are three churches operating in Aklavik, - the Anglican, Roman Catholic and the Pentecostal. In general, most young settlement natives do not involve themselves in church activity. Religious leaders often voiced despair over their inability to reach these persons. It was observed during the field-trip that, of those in the 16 to 29 age category who attended religious services, all were either married or were young adolescents still in school. Within the church-going native group, females appear to be more active, in both church attendance and participation in the religious services. Aside from young native families, the native family did not attend church as a unit--males and females sat apart, so did the few adolescents who attended.

Church Composition

The Anglican church was established at Aklavik in 1919 and the Roman Catholic in 1926. The Pentecostal church was only established during the last decade. In terms of actual participants, the Roman Catholic group is the smallest whereas, in terms of formal members, the Pentecostal group is smallest. The Anglican church has the largest formal and active membership; it includes all the L7 Indians, half the white population and most of the Eskimos. Most of the temporary Whites who are not directly connected to the religious organizations, in some official capacity, do not attend regularly. The core of Catholic members who regularly and exclusively attend church are four L6 Indian and two Eskimo families. The core of Pentecostal group consists of eight Alaskan Eskimo families, all of whom are related by kinship. The core members of the Anglican church are difficult to locate, since those natives regularly attending Anglican services and having semi-official status (president of the Women's League) also attend Pentecostal services.

Relations Among Churches

Aside from core religious members, the natives in Aklavik often attend more than one church. Eskimos and, to a lesser degree, Indians, attend both Anglican and Pentecostal services. Rarely does an older native possess a basic knowledge of any Christian religion, and only an extremely elementary discussion of religious beliefs is customary at the services. Thus, unable to comprehend the strains and competition among the churches, the church-going natives naively ask of their religious leaders, "how many gods are there?" or, "why do the churches fight among themselves?" The tension due to religious heterogeneity is revealed especially in the fact that many natives cannot understand why the "old-guard" churches resent the Pentecostals and their faith-healing. Several Anglican Indian leaders and Anglican Eskimos who attend Pentecostal services were bewildered by the reprimand they received from the Anglican bishop and the local Anglican agent (a white female). Indeed, the Anglican Indian priest himself attended Pentecostal services until severely admonished by his bishop.

Aside from the core group of Pentecostals, differences in religion among natives do not have wide repercussions nor do they elicit animosity. However there is much strain and name-calling among the various religious officials. The relations between the Anglican Indian priest and the Pentecostal Eskimo minister are quite cordial, but the white Roman Catholic and Anglican officials are quite resentful of the Pentecostals and ridicule their alleged "shoddy emotionalism". In turn, Pentecostal officials criticize the alleged "ritual" and " lack of vitalism" of the older churches. The Roman Catholic and, particularly, the Anglican officials have tried, in the past, to prevent the growth of the Pentecostals, and both are jealous of its apparent success in controlling the behaviour of its members.

A further complicating factor is the different organization of the churches.[1] The Roman Catholic and Anglican churches stress formal membership. The Pentecostals claim they do not solicit membership, but aim at religious salvation. Therefore it is irrelevant to them whether a person retains membership in another church. This policy presents problems for the other churches, since the level of religious sophistication necessary to convince the natives of the "righteousness" of their position is lacking amongst Aklavik natives. In some ways, the distinction between salvation and membership is highly functional for the Pentecostal church, since many of its members, having historical ties with Anglicanism, classify themselves as Anglicans and receive Anglican communion. Even the core Pentecostal group in Aklavik was initially Anglican.

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[1] For a discussion of organizational differences in more detail, see appendix.

It is important, in understanding the relationships among the three churches, to analyse the relationship of religion, economy and social control in Aklavik. The Anglican and Catholic churches were established early in Aklavik's history, at a time when direct government activity was minimal, and the role of the two churches was expansive. In addition to spreading their doctrine, the missions were a major source of direct material benefits for their members. The missions exerted social control, indirectly by preaching the internalization of the Christian ethic to the natives and, directly by controlling jobs and food. However, after 1950, the government increased its activities in the Arctic and began giving relief and employment to the natives. As a result, the economic and political importance of the two churches declined. Moreover, as overall agents of social control, the missions were unable to prevent the growth of widespread drunkenness, employment instability and other forms of deviance which occurred about this time. However, the growing Pentecostal church was able, partially, to curb drunkenness and contribute some stability to government jobs and other work projects. Its prestige was enhanced and Pentecostal members were able to obtain high-paying wage-work. With the Eskimo pastor and his son holding the two native government supervisory jobs and eight of the eleven native government jobs held by Alaskan Pentecostal Eskimos, they became the native elite. This changed the stratification system among the natives, as formerly natives attached to the old-guard churches had higher status.

The Pentecostal church gained the reputation of being able to control native drinking. In general most persons in the area ascribe its social problems to the excessive drinking of the natives. Moreover every Pentecostal meeting emphasizes the evils of drinking and defines Inuvik as "sinful" because it is the only place in the area where alcohol can be bought. Thus, the Pentecostals underscored the belief that alcohol was the source of the communities' social problems and that the natives were unable to control their drinking. However the Pentecostals' reputation is such that one white official said, "if on a job application it says a person is a Pentecostal, it's a high stamp of approval". [1]

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1. This is true throughout the MacKenzie delta. In Inuvik the Pentecostal group is quite small, but its Eskimo members have the best native government jobs. Reindeer Station, a nearby community of Alaskan Eskimos, was said to have been notorious for its alcohol problem but, since becoming Pentecostal, it has the reputation of a "godly town".

In considering the success of this movement we should note that it is an Alaskan Eskimo organization. The Alaskans were the last native group to arrive in the delta and were accorded inferior status by the other natives.[1] However the Pentecostal movement was important for the Alaskan Eskimos since it enabled them to obtain the best native wage-work and to carve out a prestigious position for themselves. Moreover through visiting, tape recordings, and the spreading of the Pentecostal gospel, Alaskan Eskimos were connected to other Alaskan Eskimo groups in the north and a strong "Alaska" orientation was maintained.

The Pentecostal value system includes a belief in "hard work and clean living", and is not incompatible with that of the broader society. The Pentecostals feel that they, not the Whites, control their church.[2] The movement is controlled by an Eskimo leader who, along with his sons, is well-educated (as compared to other natives) and possesses a fluent command of English. Prior to the movement, the leader was a janitor in the Anglican church and held low status. He is strongly Alaskan Eskimo oriented and discourages Indians from attending his meetings.[3] Under his direction, the Pentecostal group is not strongly conversionist. While the leader's father was white, he sees himself as Eskimo and, during meetings, he speaks primarily in Eskimo and often refers to his Eskimo mother in Heaven; he neglects to mention his white father. The whole Pentecostal Aklavik movement centers about his family and the chief roles, at the meetings, of leader, musician and audience participant (who initiates testimonials and leads audience reaction) are performed by himself, his son, and his wife, respectively. Other core members are his relatives or other Alaskan Eskimos whom he often assists with food and jobs.

It appears that the effectiveness of the Pentecostal church in controlling excessive drinking of the natives has been overrated. While there have been some persons who have stopped drinking and gambling upon conversion (the present Pentecostal leader was one such case) the membership consists mostly of older Eskimos, oriented to the traditional way of life.

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1. A. Heindricks, an American anthropologist and student of the Arctic has suggested this in personal communication. Also see J.D. Ferguson (1961).
2. This "our" aspect receives some support from observations on natives' collection contributions. It was observed that even those natives who attended other churches as well gave more to the Pentecostal collection.
3. This exclusiveness was the subject of a dispute between the Eskimo leader and a white Pentecostal leader who lived in Aklavik. The latter has since left Aklavik.

Moreover, this movement, which resembles a nativistic cult,[1] has not attracted the young settlement natives who are responsible for most of the deviance in the area. Sons and daughters of the Pentecostal members, with the exception of the leader's family, are as equally involved in deviant activities as are other young settlement natives. However, in so far as excessive drinking had been a problem for older Alaskan Eskimos--albeit a minor problem--the Pentecostal movement has helped control it.

The qualified success of the Pentecostal church, and its belief that all the problems in the area can be largely attributed to alcohol, has implications for the other churches. These churches' officials appear to be torn between an acceptance of the view that alcohol is the root of the community's problems and that prohibition may be the only solution, and a theological position calling for the moderate use of such beverages. However their utter failure to control or modify the behaviour of the natives results in strains, both of a practical and theological nature, for these officials.

Religious Values

Although it is true that settlement natives, aged 16 to 29, rank very low on religious activity, it appears that they are deeply influenced by Christian values. This is evident in their knowledge of Christianity, and in their attitudes towards illegitimacy and other forms of deviancy. Unwed mothers, in particular, show evidence of such an orientation, to the point where a vicious circle has begun. Personal observations and reports from religious officials reveal that when several of the unwed mothers attend church, they hang their heads, cry and feel ashamed and leave before the service is finished. One unwed mother reported that she cries and feels "bad" when reading the Bible or singing hymns. Moreover, young native females appear to have guilt feelings about pre-marital sexual relations.

The difference between generations[2] is also revealed by observations that the young natives lecture their parents on particular occasions. On one

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1. The emergence of such movements in similar "change-situations" is noted by B. Barber (1941).

2. The school system in the area has been under the control of the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. Until the last decade, there were only mission-schools and a great emphasis was placed on religious teaching. At the present, these two churches control, with government support, the large hostels in Inuvik. Thus, more than in other parts of Canada, religion and formal education are closely linked.

occasion a young man's mother entered a party he was attending and where alcohol was being consumed; the young man insisted that his mother go home, that she should not attend such a party. On another occasion, a young man admonished his uncle for serving beer to his mother. In this way, young settlement natives resemble permanent Whites. Both groups largely avoid church activities, yet appear to have internalized Christian ethics more than most of the "religious" natives and older natives.

In sum, while native settlement youths do not engage in religious activities, they have partly internalized Christian ethics. Yet they persist in deviant behaviour. Older natives, with neither a knowledge of religious doctrine nor a strong orientation to Christian values, regularly attend church. Settlement youths who are married appear to place a higher value on church activities. Religion exercises little control over deviancy in the area. Nor does Pentecostalism appear to be much more successful than the "old-guard" religions.

Political Activity and Control of Behaviour

In general, settlement natives in the 16 to 29 age group have not attempted [illegible] resolve their strains by working for social changes through the legitimate political structure. They are politically apathetic and few attend political or semi-political community meetings. As a whole, natives do not discriminate between the civil service and the political system. Both the old and young natives define the government as an organization from which they can obtain palpable advantages, such as relief. Essentially, however the natives see the government as unchangeable and feel they exercise little control over its management.

Much of the formal decision-making power in the Aklavik area is held by the temporary white residents, especially government officials. On a formal political level, natives do not have political roles and Aklavik is represented by Whites in both the Federal and Territorial houses. On a local level, the white government administrator has attempted to initiate an advisory council which would include elected natives. Yet decision-making for the community is essentially in the hands of the temporary white government, religious, and business officials. However, the natives are not completely passive. They express their demands through various pressure groups such as the Trappers' Association, the Pentecostal church and the semi-defunct Indian tribal organization. It was also observed that Eskimos whaling on the coast were effectively able to force the government to meet their demands for higher fish prices and for better equipment. Young settlement natives are non-participants in these pressure groups. As a result, they have no direct connection with the community decision-making mechanisms and are thus not involved in effecting change within the legitimate political structure.

ETHNIC RELATIONS

Social Relations Among the Whites

It is useful to discuss temporary Whites in terms of the organizations to which they belong--the Hudson's Bay Company, (H. B. C.), Royal Canadian Mounted Police, (R. C. M. P.), Missions and the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, (N. A. N. R.). Strains in the social relationships among the temporary Whites can best be explained as a consequence of the shifts in function of the organizations to which they belong and the general tensions existing in the community. Since the town's economy is poor and the deviance rate high, Aklavik is defined by most temporary Whites as "one big social problem".

R. C. M. P. and H. B. C. officials, who constitute part of the "old-guard" of the area, had expansive roles in the past. Since 1950, their functions have changed. Now, R. C. M. P. officials serve only as policemen, while H. B. C. officials are restricted to their business operations. Formerly, the R. C. M. P. did much of the administrative and welfare work now performed by local N. A. N. R. agents, and H. B. C. personnel performed welfare work and had a broad advisory role. Cordial relations existed between the police and business officials. Both had "good words" to say about one another, and they interacted frequently. In addition, both groups expressed resentment towards the N. A. N. R. administration, in general, and towards its Welfare Division in particular.

The Welfare Division has taken over many of the functions formerly performed by H. B. C. and R. C. M. P. agents. Police officers often stated that "before they (N. A. N. R. officials) came, the same R. C. M. P. staff handled everything", implying that the few R. C. M. P. in the area previously performed the work handled by the N. A. N. R. people and that they did it better. R. C. M. P. agents often blamed the permissive manner of the welfare agents for the present problem with native youths. H. B. C. officials blame the government (for), "creating a welfare state", but also for "not doing enough" for natives. As one H. B. C. official said, " the natives are living atrociously; they show a lot of resentment and there will be an explosion soon". In turn, N.A.N.R. members state that the H.B.C. officials overcharge the natives and that the R.C.M.P. are not co-operative. Finally, there is little "social" interaction between the N.A.N.R. agents and the R.C.M.P. and H.B.C. officials.

This strain in social relations among the temporary Whites is evident in the attitudes of the "old'guard" religious officials, especially the Catholic clergy who appear to be angry with everyone. This strain is evident in the accusations they make against white organizations. Thus one clergyman accused the government of discriminating against employees who married native women, yet some of the highest ranking officials in the MacKenzie delta have native wives. Clearly many of the former functions of the old-guard churches have been usurped by government agents. Moreover the success of the Pentecostal movement as an agency of social control and the failure of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in this respect, have contributed to the existing friction in social relationships.

Strains in the social relationships among temporary Whites are probably due to the special problems and the rapid change in functions of organizations in Aklavik. The readiness of the members of the various white groups to blame one another, as revealed by the half-truths and "wild" accusations in their statements, is an indication of this strain among the groups.

Temporary and Permanent Whites

The relationship between temporary and permanent Whites also reveals much strain, and there is little informal interaction between the groups. The permanent Whites are a small, but vocal group in the area. One permanent White is the territorial representative and several others are effective leaders in trapping and small businesses. Much of the strain in relations between temporary and permanent Whites appears due to the greater power and native orientation of the temporary Whites. The permanent Whites claim this is to their disadvantage; the temporary Whites believe their interest in the natives protects them against the permanent white entrepreneurs. The temporary Whites define these white entrepreneurs as "good hard workers but willing to do anything to make a buck".

Among permanent and temporary Whites, there is an incessant verbal battle over who best understands and appreciates the natives, and a rivalry between the two groups about "ownership" of the natives. This rivalry is also evident among the temporary Whites themselves. But the permanent Whites who live with the natives and, if married, are married to natives, are more inclined to define the temporary Whites as destructive of what is "good" in the native character. The interesting aspect of this rivalry is that permanent Whites are conscious of possible charges that they have "gone native" and, since this is an identification of themselves which they consider derogatory, they are ambivalent about identifying themselves too strongly with the natives.

White and Native Interaction

The permanent Whites interact with natives much more than do the temporary Whites. Temporary white-native contact is generally formal rather than sociable in character. Some temporary Whites have even claimed that other temporary Whites have forced them to choose between native or white friendship. Visiting, card-playing and other recreational activities generally do not involve natives and temporary Whites.

All the Whites in the area feel compelled to discuss native strengths and weaknesses. The most usual criticism of the natives is their inability to order their lives adequately that, "they have to be led". It was observed that the Whites spoke, in varying degrees of despair, about the difference between "normative" and "actual" behaviour of natives. Disapproval is expressed especially of the native settlement youths who are often referred to as "young punks, thieves and n'er-do-wells". This evaluation, like much of the behaviour of teachers, welfare workers, religious officials and permanent Whites, reflects the middle-class values of southern Canadian areas.

Both temporary and permanent white residents often refer to supposed personality differences between Indians and Eskimos. Indians are usually defined as being more dominating, proud, easily angered. Eskimos are considered mild and placable. Where both Indians and Eskimos are involved, Eskimos are alleged to be the "brawn", Indians, the "brain". While these statements need not be accepted, it was observed in several situations, that Indians revealed themselves to be more socially aggressive. [1]

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[1] Several unsophisticated experiments were made by the author to test the social aggressiveness of Indians and Eskimos. On one occasion, rather than paying an Indian and Eskimo youth, separately, for some work they had done, the author placed the money on the table and told them to divide it amongst themselves. The Indian youth quickly scooped up the money and assumed responsibility for seeing that it was equally divided.

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Whether or not there is any objective cultural basis to these Indian-Eskimo differences, the Eskimo is usually able to anticipate a better initial reception from the temporary Whites. Eskimos, in general, receive a "more favourable press" than Indians. Outsiders think of them in more exotic terms, as whalers, "great common-sense mechanics, and as people who have adjusted to a harsh, natural environment. However, it is in urban areas that Indians are more familiar to Canadians. These Indians are not typical, however, and are likely to live in slums and have serious drinking problems. In view of these definitions, problems of the Aklavik fur-garment shop can be seen. The shop can increase its outside sales if its goods are advertised as "Eskimo" but justifying this designation is a problem, since Indians are also involved in the production of these goods and the products are as much Indian as Eskimo. Finally, the different Indian-Eskimo images held by most Canadians are highlighted by the observation that most temporary Whites, when writing home, capitalized on the fact that they were in "Eskimo land". Certainly the glamour is lost in one's saying that he is writing from "Indian land".

The government's role is extensive in the Aklavik area. This tends to favour the Eskimos, since the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, which is largely Eskimo oriented, is the key government organ in this area. The Indian Affairs Branch is part of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and has no agent in Aklavik. Thus, despite the fact that many Indians live in the area, all the names suggested for Inuvik and for the proposed new province in the Arctic were Eskimo, rather than Indian. Furthermore government projects such as the fur-garment shop and the Aklavik old-age home, were often formally designated as Eskimo projects.

Native and White Interaction

Both Indians and Eskimos exhibit a great deal of hostility and restraint towards the Whites. This is generally true of Indians and the young natives living in the settlement. Most natives would agree with the following statements made by two natives to the writer--"you look white so I thought you were a big-shot" and "even young white guys come up here and are already big bosses". These statements suggest that the natives are fully aware of the high socio-economic position of the Whites in Aklavik. However, in addition to expressing some hostility over this situation, natives tend to overemphasize the distinction. They suppose all Whites to be fantastically wealthy and believe everything that they possess to be of superior quality than similar native possessions.

Indians and the young settlement natives also mistrust the Whites. These groups are more withdrawn and less easy to mix with. Older Eskimos interact more readily (this is also true of many "bush" Eskimos) with Whites and are prone to introduce themselves as Eskimo. When introducing friends to Whites they emphasize, "he's Eskimo too". Older Eskimos seem to recognize that temporary Whites, visiting officials, and tourists will be more favourably disposed if made aware of their Eskimo ethnicity. Also important is their willingness to assume a deferent role in the presence of Whites and other natives.

Amongst the Indians and young settlement natives hostility towards the Whites is more pronounced. Indians generally complain that they receive, "the bad end of the stick". As several Indians said, "some Indians work for the government, but it's mostly Eskimos and whatever the government does here, Eskimos are first". It was also observed that, when the attempt was made to establish an Aklavik advisory council, Indian participation was minimal. No Indians were elected and only two were nominated. Yet seven Eskimos were nominated and two elected (the only two natives elected). Indians appeared to have defined the whole affair as something between the government and the Eskimos. The hostility among the young settlement natives towards Whites is periodically violent, and is especially evident in their "battles" with navy personnel.

It is in native drinking parties that anti-white sentiments are most overt. The writer was often denounced on such occasions for being a white man. Often he used the ploy of being a half-breed and on each occasion, someone would reply, "that's good, at first I thought you were white". The content of these anti-white remarks highlighted the power allegedly wielded by the Whites in the area. Statements varied from, "they are no better than us" to "Whites should go back and leave us alone". The R.C.M.P. and H.B.C. officials were most often singled out for special abuse and hostility. Perhaps this is because police and business officials most visibly symbolize restraint on the means natives can use to obtain their wants.

Indian-Eskimo Interaction

There is a long history of interaction between Indians and Eskimos in the Aklavik area.[1] Much of the contact between Indians and Eskimos immediately prior to white contact was in the context of a "warring" relationship. There are still some old natives in the area who claim to remember Indian-Eskimo battles, but there have been no such organized "wars" in the twentieth century. Yet antagonism between the Indians and the older Eskimos and "bush" Eskimos remains. Several white officials reported that when "problems" arise, each tends to shift the blame to the other. One official observed that a higher degree of productivity was obtained, by mixing the composition of work groups, than if all the members were either Indian or Eskimo. Apparently each group would be on its guard, since the Indians and Eskimos mistrusted what the others might tell the white boss.

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[1] Analysis of changes wrought upon each by this interaction would be quite useful. D. Jenness (1960: 401) discusses mutual borrowing as it involved material implements; for example, he notes how the Loucheux took over the Eskimo sled in place of the familiar Indian toboggan. However there does not appear to be any information on any corresponding social cultural changes. This might be one indication that the level of social organization, in both Indian and Eskimo traditional cultures, was roughly approximate.

Apart from a general mistrust, there exist very few specific beliefs which serve as guides to Indian-Eskimo interaction. Old Indians decry the Eskimos for their poor food habits, as "eaters of raw and rotten meat", and, in general, emphasize their lack of tidiness. There is, in fact, significant differences between Indians and Eskimos in terms of their household care. Moreover, several Eskimos have died in recent years from eating rotten meat. One young Eskimo male, whaling at the Arctic coast, reported that he gave up eating rotten meat because of his Indian girl-friend. Of course, Eskimos hold beliefs about Indians, but these are of a more general order such as, "Indians are violent", or, "you have to keep your eye on them".

The history of Indian-Eskimo contact, from the beginning of the century till the last decade, has been largely one of mutual avoidance. Indians and Eskimos, though engaging for the most part in similar economic activities such as trapping, fishing and hunting, generally conducted their activities in different areas. Trapping zones can readily be divided into Indian and Eskimo areas and the same pattern applies to fishing. Some types of work, such as whaling, were performed exclusively by one of the two groups. And while Indians were concentrated in the settlement, Eskimos tended to live in the "bush". Within the settlement, Indians lived in the "Indian village", Eskimos, in the "Eskimo village". During this period intermarriage was rare and there existed a language barrier to further inhibit interaction and communication.

Since the second world war the ethnic differences have been declining in importance. The introduction of new economic activities has been an important factor in this change. Also important has been the attraction of "bush" residents to the settlements. Segregation by residence, within the settlement is now a factor differentiating natives from Whites, rather than

Indians from Eskimos. The efforts of the Whites, in the area, have led to a growing identification of Indians and Eskimos as "natives". Local officials have attempted to integrate Indians and Eskimos on work projects and in the Aklavik school programme. And attempts to create a community spirit have stressed the identification of the people as natives rather than separately as Indian and Eskimo. The integration of Indians and Eskimos has also been facilitated by the breaking down of the language barrier. English is taught in schools and churches and is spoken during other activities. Overall the similarity of experiences and the awareness of approximately equal status, as compared to the Whites, have helped contact and communication between Indians and Eskimos. An anomaly, in this general process, has been the development of the exclusively Eskimo Pentecostal church.

It appears that the gap between modern Canadian society and the traditional native "societies" is so great that it renders whatever cultural differences that existed between Indians and Eskimos quite trivial. At least on a behavioural level, ethnicity (Indian and Eskimo) is not a discriminating variable. Amongst the older and "bush" Eskimos, who are the most traditionally oriented of all the native groups, there is little interaction with Indians. Also, the Alaskan Pentecostal Eskimos interact little with Indians and appear to harbour anti-Indian sentiments. Yet even amongst the older generation, behaviour is quite similar. The organization of groups according to age is such that older natives, both Indian and Eskimo, sit around Alkavik's cafe in a "forced" togetherness, often complaining of nothing to do.

Among the young settlement natives, both Indians and Eskimos engage in the same types of behaviour, as was observed in the above chapters. Also they appear to have comparable attitudes towards Whites, towards work and, also towards deviance. There is still some hostility between Indian and Eskimo young adults. Often members of one group talk of members of the other group in categorical terms such as, "no huskey is going to push me around" or, "I don't like drinking with Indians". Yet they appear to be adapting in similar ways to similar types of strain. One observes, in Aklavik and in Inuvik, the emergence of native gangs of mixed ethnicity, consisting of Indians and Eskimos. Mutual respect for toughness, drinking ability and games such as pool, help bind the gang members together.

The suggestion that common strains are effecting union between young Indians and settlement Eskimos is supported by an analysis of intermarriage data. Using intermarriage rates as an indicator of integration and considering the time periods, 1928 to 1944 and 1945 to 1961, it was found that between 1928 and 1944, 75% of the marriages were between persons of the same ethnic group. Between 1945 and 1961 the corresponding figure was 50%.[1] This decrease is due to the greater number of Indian-Eskimo marriages in recent years. Furthermore, this trend is supported by inquiries made of young native males about their girl-friends. Of those with girl-friends, about half the young native males admitted having girl-friends of the other ethnic stock.

DEVIANCE

Police and Enforcement

Since much of the data used to discuss deviance patterns was obtained from the official court register, it is advisable to begin the discussion with an analysis of the official control system. Gambling, theft, assault, and breaking and entering are all indictable offenses. This is not true of excessive drinking; however our concern is largely with the public expression of excessive drinking. When dealing with intoxicated persons, the policy of the R.C.M.P. is to tell the person to go home. If the officer has assurance that the request will be obeyed, no charge is laid. If the person refuses to obey, he is charged with intoxication. In general, arrest for intoxication refers to more than simply excessive drinking behaviour. It also implies a rebellion against the authorities. As several R.C.M.P. officers said, "most natives, when arrested for intoxication, fight like hell all the way to the cell".

There does not appear to be any objective basis for a claim of differential enforcement. The R.C.M.P. classify all Indians, Eskimos and Multibreeds as natives and this definition tends to elicit a uniform

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1. These data are based on an analysis of marriage records obtained from the vital statistics division of the R.C.M.P. in Aklavik. They represent all the recorded marriages in the Aklavik-Inuvik area since 1928. There were few recorded marriages before this time.

enforcement policy towards these groups. It is unlikely that status position among the natives is a basis for discrimination, because relative to the Whites, the natives are quite homogenous. Also, in community affairs the R.C.M.P. officials tend to act in their official roles of police officers and are therefore less likely to treat any segment of the native population differently from any other. One hears few complaints by the natives about differential police treatment towards native groups. The R.C.M.P. agents at Aklavik report that they detect little difference among ethnic groups in hostility displayed against them.

Differential enforcement between natives and Whites is often mentioned by natives, especially in Inuvik where there is a large white population, relatively segregated from the native community. Aklavik has a small white population and there are fewer such complaints. It appears that whites in the area would be treated differently from natives, as R.C.M.P. members define them as more responsible persons. Yet there is a tendency for the police to treat white deviants much harsher than native deviants. Since natives and Whites are defined as irresponsible and responsible respectively the R.C.M.P. officials often vent their hostility on Whites who are allegedly "corrupting" the natives.[1] As mentioned above, R.C.M.P. members do feel some strain due to their role changes over the past decade and the growing delinquency amongst the natives.

While there may exist little objective basis for native complaints against R.C.M.P. officials, the natives, especially young settlement natives, direct much hostility towards them. One officer reported that most young settlement natives "wouldn't give us the time of day if they could get away with it". These natives define police action as being extremely harsh towards them. There is less hostility directed against the R.C.M.P. by the older natives and "bush" Eskimos. In the past, R.C.M.P. members were often well liked by the natives. At that time the R.C.M.P. spent much of its time distributing food and welfare to the natives and there was much less deviance then than at the present.[1] The type of hostility directed against the R.C.M.P. and its special intensity among settlement native males and females suggest that this native hostility is related to their general dissatisfaction with their level of participation in the new middle-class way of life. For such natives, the police--the official representatives of the middle-class system for these youths--appear to symbolize the restrictive character of the white middle-class system.

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[1] Several natives have even said that they felt the Whites who deviated were more severely punished than natives for similar offenses.

The police in Aklavik are not especially effective in controlling crimes such as gambling and theft. Nightly gambling games occur without fear of police interference. Court statistics vastly underestimate the gambling and other criminal activity which goes on. Since excessive drinking occurs in public places and often involves violence, it is more noticeable to the police and, therefore, better reflected in the court statistics. Furthermore, like other low-status minority groups, the natives in Aklavik and Inuvik seldom look to the police for justice. In the "tent village" in Inuvik vicious assaults occur regularly, yet the victims seldom report these assaults to the police. Such is the case, also in Aklavik.[2]

In sum it was noted there is little differential enforcement of the law by R.C.M.P. members against the various ethnic groups. It was observed that the young natives in the settlement are very hostile to the R.C.M.P. and this, we suggested, was attributable to their particular definition of police officials. Finally it was noted that charges of intoxication mean more than merely "being drunk" and that court statistics on crime present an inaccurate picture of the phenomenon.

Drinking in the Aklavik Area

Natives in the Aklavik area have been drinking alcoholic beverages since at least the turn of the century, but it has only been within the past five years that a legal liquor outlet was established in the area and that natives were given legal liquor privileges. Prior to this, Indians and Eskimos obtained liquor illegally from white "boot-leggers". In addition home-brewing was developed and conducted on a considerable scale. Nowadays, home-brewing is considered a traditional native activity. At the time the study was carried out, home-brewing was illegal. [1]

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[1] There exists much concern among R.C.M.P. officials, both in Ottawa and Aklavik, over the growing unpopularity of the police. In the past when natives were oriented to traditional values there existed little deviance. At this time also R.C.M.P. members were well-liked by the natives. Some of the R.C.M.P. officers in the area then are now in Ottawa. As a result they tend to see current hostility against the R.C.M.P. as due to personality differences among staff-members. This causes difficulties between Ottawa and local officials.

[2] One young native, robbed and badly beaten by a native gang, reported that he would not see the police about the matter. Asked what they would have done in a similar situation, other young natives said they might fight the persons later but would not seek police assistance. The same pattern applies to theft; see section on criminal activity.

It has only been in the last decade that drinking has been considered a "problem" by the official white representatives of the area. "Boot-legging" was always conducted on a small scale[2] and homebrew became part of the native way of life, and did not appear to be disruptive. Nowadays, home-brewing is conducted usually in the bush, especially during the trapping and fishing seasons, and is performed by older natives and "bush" Eskimos. Some home-brewing is carried on in the settlement when other alcohol is not available. However, because it is illegal and requires time and planning for best results, it is seldom practiced. However, six to eight hour "home-brew", often "spiked" is sometimes made by settlement youths.

Official Whites define the drinking problem as that which is largely confined to the settlement and to the drinking of shave-lotion and perfume, either alone or with home-brew. The order of preference of alcoholic beverages, among natives, appears to be whiskey, rum, beer, home-brew and finally perfume and wood-alcohol. Only recently have whiskey and rum been legally available in large quantities. Thus alcoholic beverages are not new to the natives. What is new is the fact that the consumption of such beverages is no longer illegal; the variety of alcoholic beverages is now greater than before. Thus native drinking behaviour is not simply the attempt to establish norms and customs for a new activity.

Importance of Inuvik

The liquor store, previously located in Aklavik, was transferred to Inuvik in 1960. Inuvik, which also has a hotel and bar, is now the only place in the delta where one can legally purchase alcoholic beverages. This restriction on the availability of alcohol for Aklavik residents is tempered by the fact that Inuvik is only half-hour away by plane, eight hours by dog team and several hours by boat. Moreover it is possible to order alcohol by boat or plane. Because of the inconvenience and expense in merely travelling to Inuvik, a person travelling to Inuvik will often be asked by others to obtain alcohol for them as well. Sometimes a group of associates will pool its resources and send one of its members for liquor. Since Eskimo and Indian young adults join together to secure alcohol from Inuvik, a latent consequence is their integration into "native" groups.

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[1] By an amendment to the appropriate Territorial Ordinance in January 1962, home-brewing is now permitted in the Northwest Territories. A permit has to be obtained, and only a malt brew can be made.

[2] There is one small-scale "boot-legger" in Aklavik and several in Inuvik. All are Whites. Native home-brewing does not involve any "moon-shining". Each native family makes its own supply. Most native youths over 16 years of age are able to home-brew.

Inuvik has replaced Aklavik as the focal point of the area. A popular activity for young native Aklavik residents is to go regularly to Inuvik for an exhaustive "binge". Analysis of Inuvik convictions supports this observation. For the period August 1960 to June 1961, of the 30 Aklavik residents arrested for intoxication four-fifths were single and most were Indians and Eskimos between the ages of 16 and 29 years.

Young natives engage in "binges" whenever they have lots of money, quit their jobs, or receive their pay. Having spent their money drinking at Inuvik, they remain there, "shiftless", listlessly looking for work. During such periods, they often commit assaults and other deviances. To illustrate this we cite the case of five native males who received a lump sum for bringing in cut-logs; each chartered a plane to Inuvik for a "binge". On another occasion, a single young Indian male flew to Inuvik, spent $200. on a drinking spree and was jailed twice in one week.

Because Inuvik has a liquor store and hotel and a large number of young natives and whites and because Inuvik is the largest and most modern settlement in the area, it is the focal point for deviant activities. Although there is a heavy migration of young Aklavik natives to Inuvik, perhaps most interesting is the comment of the young natives who stay in Aklavik and merely make frequent "sorties" to Inuvik. When asked why they did not stay in Inuvik, they reported that, "I couldn't take it" or "I just had to get away from the drinking and trouble there". This behaviour suggests their basic ambivalence to the white middle-class values which they appear to have internalized. In Aklavik, this group engages in less deviance than in Inuvik.[1]

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[1] The place in Inuvik where most young natives go, especially in the summer, is called the "Tent Village". It consists of many tents located at the far end of town, away from the white residences and the R.C.M.P. depot. In the summer months gambling, assaults, drinking parties and other deviances are very common here.

Certainly in Inuvik the native-white differences are magnified by residential segregation, the presence of white competitors for the native females and the informal segregation in social activities. However, it is important to note that between 1950 and 1960 Aklavik was comparable to present-day Inuvik, since it contained many temporary Whites, possessed the only liquor store, was segregated residentially and was the focal point for deviance in the MacKenzie area.[1]

Patterns of Drinking

According to the court register at Aklavik, for the period January 1960 to June 1961, there were 134 liquor ordinance violations of which 106 were for intoxication. At least 65 of the individuals arrested for intoxication were drinking with others at the time of arrest. Such figures reinforce our observation that solitary drinking among the natives is rare. Natives who drink alone usually do so in the "bush", and drink home-brew. Customarily, natives drink in groups, among friends and relatives. The native who "hoards" his liquor and drinks alone is ridiculed and avoided.

Group Drinking

An attempt was made to observe the pattern of group drinking--that is "who drinks with whom"--and to establish this pattern on the basis of R.C.M.P. statistics and case records. From these sources, it was possible to obtain data on individuals arrested together for intoxication or at least mentioned in the case records as drinking together. On this basis, 59 such groups, varying in size from two to five person groups, were obtained, based on Aklavik statistics for the period June 1959 to June 1961. These data reveal that, of the 59 groups, 28 involved males only, 28 involved both males and females and three involved females only. Thus it appears that while males drink as often with other males as they do with females, it is rare for females to drink alone. The fact that men pay for women's drinks might help to explain why females usually drink with men. The role of women in this connection will be discussed later.

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1. J.D. Ferguson reports that Aklavik "toughs" were formerly the trouble-makers in the community of Tuktoyaktuk. He implies that Aklavik was, at the time of his study, the focal point of deviance and that Aklavik natives were, at that time, the most acculturated group of natives in the delta area (Ferguson, 1961: 63).

Analysis of the age composition of the 59 groups reveals that in 26 cases, all members were in the age category 16 to 29; in six groups, all members were in the over 30 age group and in 25 groups, some members fell into both age categories.[1] All the groups with each member over 30 years of age, were ethnically homogenous, either Indian or Eskimo. Over half of the groups with each member aged 16 to 29 years, were ethnically heterogenous involving both Indians and Eskimos. Nineteen of the groups, involving members of both age categories, were exclusively Eskimo.

In general while the numbers are small, the above statistical analysis of group drinking supports our observations. Our statistics suggest that excessive drinking is largely a problem among the younger settlement natives. Moreover, within this group, ethnic differences between Indians and Eskimos are decreasing because of new criteria for group membership. However a surprising result is the large amount of inter-generational drinking among the Eskimo. The traditionally "weak" authority structure of the Eskimo family might help account for this inter-generational drinking.

Individual Drinking

Analysis of individual rates of liquor violations supports the observation that males are more likely to engage in heavy drinking. Aklavik data, for the period January 1960 to August 1960, reveal that native males accounted for about 80% of all the violations. But single native females, who accounted for all but one native female arrest have a rate which approximates the single native male rate. Thus of 64 liquor violations, native males accounted for 50 cases. The number of official liquor convictions for single native males during this period was 27; it was 13 for single native females. It was also observed that single native males have a higher rate for official convictions than do married native males (especially when population differences are controlled), though the difference between married and single males is not as sharp as the difference between married and single females. These findings, though based on small numbers, are in keeping with the field observations.

In general there is a much higher rate of official liquor violations amongst the natives in the 16 to 29 age category than amongst the older natives or "bush" Eskimos. Data from Inuvik liquor violations, for the period August 1960 to June 1961, partially confirm this observation, as shown in the following table:

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[1] There were two groups for which age data could not be obtained.

TABLE XVII: Inuvik Liquor Violations for August 1960 to June 1961 by Age, Sex, Ethnicity and Marital Status

	Eskimo				Indian			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Age	M.	S.	M.	S.	M.	S.	M.	S.
under 21	0	7	0	5	0	9	0	4
21 to 29	5	15	2	2	2	15	0	9
over 29	16	1	3	1	0	6	1	1

Source: R.C.M.P. court files.

The above data reveal that of those arrested, 22% were under 21 years of age, 46% were aged 21 to 29, and 32% were over 29 years of age. These figures more closely support our observations when the rates are computed for population differences in the three groups, since the population of those aged 29 years and over is much greater than of those aged 16 to 29. Considering the repeaters only, it is found that during this period the proportion of persons with several drinking violations who are under 21 years of age rises to 35%, while the proportion who are over 29 years of age drops to 28%.

The observation that excessive drinking is largely an affair of settlement natives aged 16 to 29 is further supported by the analysis of the ineligibility listing for the Aklavik area. Placement on the ineligible list is done by the official Whites (judge or magistrate), and means that the person has been continually incurring drinking infractions and is considered to have a drinking problem. If we consider the repeaters only on the ineligible list, we can obtain a good idea of which group has the greatest drinking "problem". Analysis of the repeaters on the ineligible list for the period 1958 to 1961 reveals that of the 21 native male repeaters, 15 were single; 17 of the 21 were between the ages of 16 and 29. Thus excessive drinking is largely a problem for single settlement natives, aged 16 to 29. While this group accounts for almost all of the Indian liquor violations, the pattern is not as strong among the Eskimos. Many older and married Eskimos have official liquor convictions.

The hypothesis that excessive drinking constitutes part of the deviant adaptation to the disparity existing between goals and means is partially borne out by analysis of drinking patterns. The data reveal that excessive drinking is recurrent among native settlement youths who appear to hold a different set of values and goals than other native groups. Yet it is also true that older Eskimos occasionally drink heavily. Among the young settlement natives, Indians and Eskimos engaged in group drinking and had approximately similar rates of arrest for drinking violations. Finally it was noted that the liquor violation rate for young native females seemed to approximate the rate for single native males.

Attitudes Towards Drinking

Single male and female natives appear to hold the same attitude towards excessive drinking. In both groups persons boast of how much liquor they have consumed, and of the durations of their "binges". However there were also indications of ambivalence in their behaviour. Females were more likely to hold and to express strong guilt feelings than males.

The expression of guilt feelings appears to be associated with the expectations of the female role. Natives and Whites in the area are of the opinion that females who drink also engage in some sexual deviance. Women in the area generally drink in mixed company. In such situations the male's role includes inviting the female for a drink, buying her liquor, in general initiating action. On the other hand, the female is expected to provide sexual gratification. Furthermore, the younger natives have internalized the "double-standard" ethic prevalent in the larger society. Native youths are more concerned about their mother's drinking than about their father's habits. Young natives who supply the females with liquor and who engage with them in sexual intercourse condemn the female's behaviour more than their own actions. Perhaps a clearer example of the strongly felt guilt of native females are the cases of intoxicated native girls who wander into the R.C.M.P. depot and create such a disturbance that they are arrested.[1] In each of these cases, the native girl was an unwed mother between 16 and 29 years of age.

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[1] Five cases of such female action were observed during the field-trip. R.C.M.P. officials report several other cases, all involving young settlement natives. Police officers appear quite perplexed by this pattern, especially as they tolerate much abuse before jailing these persons. On one occasion, a native female walked into the depot and without saying a word to anyone locked herself in a cell.

For the majority of young settlement natives a readiness to drink "hard" is a criterion of masculinity, and there is much boasting about drinking exploits. "Hard drinking appears to be a criterion of status and each tries to outdo the other in their claims of deviance. Those who drink in moderation are ridiculed. This attitude is illustrated in the following incident observed by the writer: A group of native men sitting outside the hotel in Inuvik were watching a solitary native approaching the liquor store. One remarked that the native had probably planned for a month to purchase his one case of beer and had all the details "on a blueprint". * This attitude of contempt for planned, moderate drinking is quite common among young settlement natives. Moreover such youths drink a lot of Aqua Velva and wood tar when preferred drinks are unavailable.

In addition to its function as a criterion of status, excessive drinking for young natives serves several other functions. Young men get intoxicated deliberately at dances, their aim being to drink "just enough so that I am feeling good", as one reported. When alcoholic beverages are available, there is usually more dancing and social mixing than when it is not available. New social skills, such as dancing, jiving and other dance forms are highly valued by native females. Many of the white young men possess these skills, and they are defined as "modern"; they are envied, for this reason, by young settlement natives. Because young native males are acutely sensitive about their lack of these skills, drinking seems to relax their inhibitions and facilitate interaction at these events. For the young females, drinking seems to help them overcome sexual inhibitions; this is crucial to their popularity with many of the young Whites.

Among the older natives and "bush" Eskimos (excluding the native Pentecostals) alcohol is thought to be conducive to "fun" and is particularly appropriate at Christmas, New Years and at parties. Persons in Inuvik often send packages with beer and spirits to friends and relatives in Aklavik. Also, after the trapping and fishing seasons, older natives and "bush" Eskimos often return to town and celebrate with liquor. Occasionally older natives also refer to the medicinal benefits of alcohol.

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1. *This remark was greeted with hearty laughter by his companions.

Criminal Acts and Gang Development

The striking increase in crime (theft, malicious damage, and breaking and entering) and the development of gangs among single settlement natives have been recent developments in the Aklavik area. Along with gambling, these criminal acts are almost exclusively carried out by single settlement youths. Data from the Aklavik court register, for the period January 1960 to June 1961, reveal 24 cases of assault, six cases of theft and two cases of breaking and entering. These are conviction figures and give little indication of the actual extent of this behaviour in the area. Data from the Inuvik court register reveal 90 convictions for criminal acts by natives in 1961 and a slightly higher number for 1962.[1]

Natives seldom report these criminal acts to the police.[2] Also, because many of the young Aklavik natives often travel to Inuvik and commit their delinquencies in Inuvik, the official Aklavik crime figures underestimate the growing rate of crime among Aklavik youths. Moreover, in contrast to the heavy drinking among these youths, much of their criminal behaviour goes undetected. A clear example is that the court register reveals no arrests for gambling whereas, in fact, big gambling games are very common in Aklavik.

The rise in theft has been particularly noticeable. Several white officials reported that nowadays everything had to be locked up. Yet when they first arrived in the area, valuables could be left around without any concern for their safety. Hudson's Bay officials reported much theft in their stores. Thefts in schools, gyms and government apartments were observed to be so common that changes in community behaviour resulted.

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1. The native population of Aklavik is greater than the native population of Inuvik though Inuvik draws a large number of native transients from Aklavik and surrounding settlements. Generally these transients stay in Inuvik for a short time and then return to their homes in the other settlements.

2. Traditionally, when natives lived in small groups, everyone and everything were known by all. There was an important distinction made between private and public property. With private property it was important whether or not it was being used by the owner. If not, it could be used by another, at least temporarily. Nowadays, communities are larger and extra-familial and theft, as it is understood by the Whites, is occurring. It appears that young natives engage in stealing, but are not reported by older natives, because of the latter's orientation to the traditional definition.

This change is reflected in the following statement by an older native, "I give everyone a drink but these young guys want to steal the whole bottle". Similarly, breaking and entering is a prevalent pattern. There were 10 cases of convictions for breaking and entering in the Aklavik-Inuvik area in 1961 and several more unsolved cases. All those convicted for theft and breaking and entering were single settlement youths.

Although there were no convictions in Aklavik for malicious damage, and only a few in Inuvik, there exists, among officials, a concern over its increasing occurrence. In Aklavik and Inuvik, much damage has been done to schools and other public property. Extrapolation from convictions for such acts suggests that this behaviour is carried out by young settlement natives.

Gambling is a major deviant activity in Aklavik and runs the gamut from small "quarter" games occasionally played by older natives, to the "high stakes" games regularly held in native homes. The "high stakes" game is a strictly male enterprise and usually involves Indians, though some Eskimo youths also attend. Observation revealed that of the 26 regular participants in these games, nineteen were between 16 and 29 years of age. The stakes were often quite high, with "pots" of several hundred dollars. Often the young natives try to outdo one another in their claims of how much money they lost or won. It appears that gambling, on other than a small friendly basis, is largely an activity of native settlement youths and seems to provide them with another criterion for achieving status.

Fighting ability and, in general, toughness appear to be important criteria for status among young settlement natives. Fighting and assaults are not uncommon in the area. There were 24 convictions for assault in Aklavik during the period January 1960 to June 1961. Of the 90 criminal code convictions in Inuvik in 1961, the vast majority were for fighting and assault. Moreover, there is emerging in the area a subculture of gangs. These gangs comprise Indian and Eskimo youths, although Indians appear to predominate. Gang hostility is directed not only against Whites and navy personnel but also against other natives. "Mugging" is a common gang activity and on one occasion, after assaulting and robbing a native of his liquor, the gang members remained to beat their victim thoroughly. They returned an hour later to beat him again, "just for kicks", as one member reported.

While these gangs are not comparable to highly organized urban gangs, only males between the ages of 16 and 29 years are involved, and deviance is strongly approved among the members. The gang's members spend much of their time "hanging-around" the local cafe. The new criteria of status among these youths include hard drinking, gambling, the display of toughness, sexual prowess and the ability to play pool.

The development of these gangs suggests the emergence of a delinquent subculture as a general adaptation or response to the particular problems faced by these young Indian and settlement Eskimo natives. In many respects, they live under similar circumstances in the community. They differ widely from the older Indians and Eskimos and "bush" natives. Because their parents do not share their values, they are unable to help them with their problems. Unlike the married settlement natives, they engage neither in religious nor in political activities. More crucial, however, is the major difference which exists between these native youths and the temporary Whites in the area. While both have internalized the standards of the middle-class white culture, the social structure prevents the natives from legitimately realising their aspirations and achieving their desired goals.

Gang formation among the young settlement natives apparently helps them handle this strain by providing criteria of status and self-respect which they are able to achieve. Both Indian and settlement Eskimo youths appear to be adapting to these strains in similar ways.

The Community's Account of Its Social Problems

In Aklavik, most temporary white officials define alcohol-drinking as the cause of all deviant acts. This view is shared by the natives, both young and old, and particularly by the Pentecostals. This perception appears related to the white stereotype that sees natives as child-like persons unaccountable for their actions when drinking. It was not uncommon for natives themselves to say that, "white men can drink and not get drunk, but the natives can't". Several native settlement youths reported that they did not drink at all during the week because they felt that, if they started drinking, they could not stop. This belief apparently has the power of a self-fulfilling prophecy, and many natives use drinking as an excuse for their various deviances and explain their troubles as being a function of alcohol.

In general then, there appears to be wide community consensus that alcohol is the root of the social problems in Aklavik. It has been observed above that religious and government officials appear torn between the belief that natives cannot handle alcohol and the religious and political position that alcohol in moderation is moral and natives have a democratic right to use it. Because of this ambivalence, it is not surprising that many seek unusual solutions to the social ills. For instance, it was suggested that "weakened" home-brews and "near-beers" should be supplied to the natives, which might satisfy their desire to drink without leading to drunkenness.

While alcohol-drinking is considered responsible for the social problems in the area, not all natives get drunk each time they drink alcohol. Moreover, Whites have been seen drunk, and there are some persons in the area who think that there are other explanations for the community's problems. Yet the general explanation that natives are unable to control their behaviour under the influence of liquor seems to account for the cause of the problems without anyone shouldering the blame. The solution seems merely to remove the availability of alcohol, or to substitute "near-beers". The question now becomes whether natives should be allowed equal rights. And it was noted that most Whites feel that the natives "have to be led".

A major function of this explanation is that it integrates the white members of the various organizations in the area. It was noted that strain exists in the social relations among these organizations; yet the organizational members must interact in order to perform their tasks. Furthermore, there is pressure in the community to segregate Whites from natives in housing and social activities. The accepted explanation for the community's problems facilitates their interaction and role performance, since it enables them to transfer blame to something over which they have no control--the genetic inability of natives to control their drinking behaviour.

Similarly, in the relationship of local Whites to their superiors on the outside, one detects the same pattern operating. Managers of local work projects and members of the local R.C.M.P. appear more likely to win approval from their supervisors, given the problems of job instability and growing delinquency, by relating most of the local problems to the fact that natives, "have to be led"; this is difficult to do in a situation where liquor is available and natives possess the right to drink if they desire.

This general explanation also has important consequences for the natives. Older natives resort to this explanation when they are criticized for not controlling the aberrant behaviour of their older children, thereby acquitting themselves of blame. Also, given the ambivalence of the young settlement natives towards the middle-class values, it is useful to look for other structural conditions which allow the actor to construct adequate ego defenses such that he can divorce himself from responsibility for his deviant actions. (Sykes, 1956: 90). Perhaps the community's explanation, that its problems are a function of the inability of natives to control their drinking, may provide these natives with the appropriate circumstances in which they can relieve guilt feelings. The observation that young natives always plead guilty in court and claim drunkenness as the reason for their actions, suggests either a tendency for them to consider their deviance as something beyond their control, or an awareness that such a presentation of self supports the community explanation of deviance and will result in light punishment.[1]

However it is clear that the community's explanation of its problems does not harmonize with many social facts in the Aklavik situation. Natives have been drinking alcohol for many years, but only recently have illegitimacy, job instability and so forth emerged in this area. Moreover drinking has not been the only reason for job instability. Also excessive drinking is not distributed randomly among the native groups, but is largely done by single settlement natives between the ages of 16 and 29 years. However Levi-Strauss has shown that community "models" have a preservative as well as explanatory function. (Levi-Strauss, 1953). The community's fixation on drinking as the key to the area's social problems appears to be dysfunctional, in the sense that strains in the social organization of Aklavik, of which drinking is only one of the indicators, are not adequately perceived.

An Alternative Interpretation

The Culture-Conflict theory is altogether inadequate as an explanation for deviance among young settlement natives in Aklavik. Implicit in this theory is the idea of the absence of controls and the absence of effectively internalized values by the group in question. (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1962). If this were the case, young settlement natives in Aklavik

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1. It would be useful to know if the young natives are aware of the consequences of their behaviour in court.

should display a strong ambivalence in their choice of values, goals and in their sentiments. However the data presented in this report offer absolutely no evidence of this. Young settlement natives reject traditional values, and give every indication of having internalized white middle-class values.

According to the Culture-Conflict theory, similarities in behaviour are explained in terms of early childhood socialization as the major determinant of future behaviour. (Kardiner, 1945). Applied to the young native group this means that their post-childhood experiences in middle-class schools and other middle-class institutions, are unimportant, and that middle-class values and sentiments cannot be "really" internalized. Thus it precludes any lasting effect of their relatively extensive contact with white middle-class culture. However there is considerable reason to believe that post-infantile experiences are possibly more important in personality development than prelinqual ones. (Orlansky, 1949; Lindesmith, 1950; Hallowell, 1953).

The early childhood experiences of young settlement natives do not preclude their internalizing sentiments and values of the white middle-class culture. Durable affective relations are not a precondition to the internalization of values. Young natives' relations with Whites have not, in all cases, been strongly affective; yet their behaviour and attitudes clearly reflect their having internalized middle-class values and goals.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to describe and analyze deviant behaviour among Indians and Eskimos in the Aklavik area. The various native groups were examined according to their values and goals, the availability of the legitimate means for them to reach their goals and also their deviant behaviour. It was found that those natives who are oriented to traditional values and goals experience little strain in the community, and are less likely to engage in deviant behaviour. Moreover, given their particular value orientation, contact with the white middle-class culture was, in their terms, a gain in status for them. Older natives and young "bush" Eskimos appear contented with the opportunities available to them and rate highly the work in which they are engaged. These natives habitually engage in traditional activities, possess little education, and they differ widely in dress, language and attitudes from the younger settlement natives. While a few of the older natives drink heavily, it is not widespread. While this group has little opportunity to improve its social status in the area, its members are not oriented to "higher" middle-class values and goals. They undergo little or no strain and do not engage in deviant behaviour.

On the other hand, "second generation" natives--young settlement natives--are oriented to middle-class white values. They have considerable contact with white middle-class culture. They have been educated in middle-class schools, exposed to white middle-class attitudes, sentiments and evaluations. Their dress, language and their attitudes reflect their exposure to white middle-class culture and the internalization of middle-class values and goals. Moreover, these young settlement natives reject the traditional native values and activities. In effect they resemble the temporary middle-class Whites of the area.

However a disparity exists between the goals to which they aspire and the legitimate means available for their achievement. In contrast to the temporary Whites, they are frustrated in their attempts to reach their goals, and they are dissatisfied with their level of participation and lack of recognition in the white, middle-class culture. As a result, these young natives experience considerable strain in the community. This felt ambivalence towards the norms need not, however, result in deviant behaviour.[1] Other factors such as marital status, family ties, religious and political involvement, are important in determining the mode of response that is taken to the felt ambivalence. This study also suggested that the attitudes held by Whites towards Indians and Eskimos and the community's explanation of its social problems were also determining factors.

The availability of illegitimate opportunities is a further important factor in determining the response to ambivalence among a range of deviant adaptations. Thus, while deviant role models were rare in Aklavik prior to 1950, gambling, drinking and non-marital sexual relations were not uncommon. This knowledge of traditional cultural patterns may help explain the type of deviance carried out by the young natives.

The young settlement natives accounted for almost all the deviant behaviour which occurred in the area. Moreover, these natives displayed a pronounced ambivalence towards middle-class norms and values. While

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1. There are many possible conventional ways to resolve this goals-means strain. R. Lane mentions insulation or limiting one's outlook or range of comparison, resignation, denial of the importance of the disparity, and stressing the intangibles. (Lane, 1959:38)

their deviant behaviour included heavy drinking, assaults, theft, malicious damage, sexual deviance and job instability, nevertheless they persisted in their pursuit of legitimate employment. And many refused to live permanently in Inuvik because of the excessively strong pressures to engage in deviant behaviour. Finally, once married, they often stopped their deviant behaviour and engaged in religious and community affairs.

While much of the deviant behaviour in the area is not new, the growth of gangs suggests the emergence of a delinquent subculture. Among other things these gangs seem to provide the young natives with new criteria of status such as heavy drinking, toughness, sexual prowess and gambling, all of which are more easily achieved by group members. The deviant responses of these youths are very likely adaptive for them both as a group and individually. It allows them more easily to identify with others faced with similar problems of adjustment; it gives them a modicum of social recognition (in their own eyes) and it contributes to the development of a firmer self-conception--all of which, otherwise, are structurally forbidden them.

No study is without its weaknesses and this study is no exception. For example the paucity of "hard data" in the study is reflected in the meagre historical analysis undertaken in the work. More adequate historical data might have supplied clues about early Indian-Eskimo social relations and would have facilitated a more accurate picture of traditional work norms, sex patterns and so forth. However such data were either unreliable or unavailable. Moreover some of the analysis of deviance is based on a small number of cases. However the suggested patterns of deviance based on these cases warrant some consideration since they are also evident in Inuvik.

The use of more precise measuring techniques, scales and structured questionnaires would have helped the examination of norms, values and attitudes. Certain categories used in the analysis are possibly too broad. For example, the 16-29 age category covers a variety of roles such as "teenager", "young man", among others. However the quality and quantity of available data precluded a more refined analysis.

The use of control groups could be improved. The comparison of young settlement natives with older natives and "bush" Eskimos makes examination of variables difficult. Yet the few young "bush" Eskimos in the area precluded their use as a control. Finally, this study should be considered as an exploratory investigation. While the use of more precise techniques would have been preferable, the circumstances under which the field work was conducted made this difficult.

Appendix I: Trapping in The Aklavik Area

The animals trapped in the Aklavik area are Beaver, Muskrat, Mink, Marten, Lynx and Fox. The rates in 1960 for best quality animal pelts were as follows:

Beaver	$ 9.00	per	pelt
Mink	$20.00	"	"
Marten	6.50	"	"
White Fox	$20.00	"	"
Red Fox	$ 6.00	"	"
Black Fox	$ 9.00	"	"
Lynx	$12.00	"	"
Trap Muskrat	.85	"	"
Shot Muskrat	.50	"	"

Trapping in the area is largely a matter of trapping and shooting muskrats, especially from March 1st to "break-up" in May. Mink and other animals are trapped during the winter season, especially from November to February. Animals other than muskrats are less plentiful and more difficult to trap. The most valuable pelt is usually mink and the best trappers in the area are those who are successful in taking mink in quantity.

The furs trapped in the Aklavik area are sold generally, in almost equal proportion, to the Hudson's Bay Company and to two independent white fur traders. The value of the fur changes quickly and opinion differs, in the area, as to which buyer offers the best price. The few white trappers often send their furs to Montreal or to Seattle where the prices are slightly higher.

In 1936 the MacKenzie area was attracting too many would-be trappers and it was closed to trapping. Then everyone who trapped had his own licensed area. Recently, trapping was reorganized on the basis of a common area scheme. However traditional grounds were still used and each trapper retained his own area. All the communities around Aklavik, except Tuktoyaktuk agreed to the plan. No longer does anyone have to worry about a licence renewal. Generally Indians and Eskimos trap apart and kinship often dictates trapping neighbours.

The trappers in the area are organized into a Trappers' Association that includes Whites, Eskimos, Indians and Multibreeds. The Association listens to complaints and suggestions, decides on the eligibility of new trappers in the area and decides on loans to trappers. In principle the elected board should comprise one member from each ethnic group. Usually only the best trappers are elected. However, high status natives, who trap only occasionally may get elected. While the posts of president and secretary were held by natives in 1960 and 1961 this does not reflect the strength of native power relative to other groups. Since the government's policies and resources are directed to benefit the native groups, it is important that the association obtain strong native support for its activities.

Appendix II Organization of Coastal Whaling and Fishing Camps.

The three Eskimo camps on the Arctic coast are known as Shingle Point, Whitefish Station and Kendall Island. Different groups of Eskimos go traditionally to one of these three places. Kinship and orientation to town are the important variables effecting the distribution of Eskimo at these camps. The core people at these camps are all Eskimos who live in the "bush". Aside from the core groups, the attendance at the various camps varies from year to year, although those Eskimos living in Aklavik, if they go to the coast, go to Shingle Point, whereas those living in Inuvik usually go to Kendall Island. However it should be noted that kinship is more important in this regard than settlement residence.

At both Kendall Island and Shingle Point, the Eskimos are organized into tents along nuclear family lines. The whole flavour of activity is that of a co-operative. All camp members usually eat the evening meal together in front of the tent of an informal leader. The informal leader is an Eskimo with the best equipment, who is also generally one of the most consistently successful trappers. Both whaling and fishing are co-operative efforts, especially whaling. There were no formal orders given, but rather a combination of enough persons ready to work and subtle initiatives of the informal leader. All who participated in the work activity received equal shares of the catch with the boat owner receiving one extra share.

The informal leadership was much more clearly defined at Shingle Point than at Kendall Island. At the latter two men owned whaling boats and several were consistently successful trappers. At Shingle Point, talent was, along with possessions, less equitably distributed. The informal leader at Shingle Point possessed almost all the necessary equipment and was, in addition to being the most successful trapper, more knowledgeable about tides, whales and hunting. Moreover at Shingle Point two white officials were present (none were present at Kendall Island) and they "forced" the leading native into a more formal leadership role. While he gave few direct commands, this leader's actions were always followed and his decisions never queried. Indeed he had almost a "royal retinue" of three old widows whom he helped continuously. It was at his tent that the natives gathered for the evening meal.

At Shingle Point--unlike at Kendall Island--both whaling and commercial fishing were done. While commercial fishing was in operation a typical day at Shingle Point would be as follows: About 7.30 a.m. the leader would send his children to visit his fish nets; soon others would begin to do so and by noon the morning catch was in. Each household had its own fish nets. The checking of nets, cleaning and cutting of fish was performed by each household on their catch. The total morning catch was usually about 250 lbs., consisting mostly of whitefish but also including some char, cod and herring. When the morning catch was in, the processing, cleaning, and pickling was performed by the native leader and the white official. The government's design was to train several natives on processing the fish and whales so as to improve its marketability. At night the nets were checked again. From 10 p.m. to the early hours of the morning, a big co-operative sweep was conducted.

At shingle Point the Eskimos began to hunt caribou at the end of July, generally doing so in small hunting parties; the meat was eaten separately by individual families though there was still much sharing. At Kendall Island the Eskimos hunted caribou towards the end of the summer, and the women picked berries.

Appendix III: Forms of Household Relationships in the Aklavik Area

A. Uncomplicated Nuclear Family:	Permanent Whites	8	households
	Multibreeds	3	"
	Indians	II	"
	Sett. Eskimos	II	"
	Bush Eskimos	2	"
B. Basic Nuclear Family With Illegitimate or Adopted Children:	Permanent Whites	I	household
	Multibreeds	5	"
	Indians	10	"
	Sett. Eskimos	15	"
	"Bush" Eskimos	5	"
C. Basic Nuclear Family With No Offspring at Home or Widowed Parent:	Permanent Whites	2	households
	Multibreeds	1	"
	Indians	4	"
	Sett. Eskimos	3	"
	"Bush" Eskimos	4	"
D. Widowed Parents with Children and Children's Illegitimate Children:	Permanent Whites	0	households
	Multibreeds	0	"
	Indians	3	"
	Sett. Eskimos	6	"
	"Bush" Eskimos	1	"
E. Single Person Households:	Permanent Whites	6	households
	Multibreeds	1	"
	Indians	3	"
	Sett. Eskimos	1	"
	"Bush" Eskimos	2	"

In three "bush" Eskimo households, grown relatives also premanently reside with the basic family unit.

All the temporary Whites' households consist of either bachelor households or the normal nuclear family. In two of these households, marriage partners had no children.

In two permanent Whites' households the parents are separated. Another permanent White household consists of two old men.

Appendix IV: Size of Households of Aklavik Ethnic Groups

Temporary Whites

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	13	2	1	5	3	0	0	0	0

Permanent Whites

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	6	4	0	4	2	1	0	0	3

Multibreeds

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	1	0	1	2	2	2	0	1	1

Indians

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	3	3	1	4	5	3	2	2	8

Settlement Eskimos

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	1	2	5	6	4	3	5	3	7

Bush Eskimos

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	2	0	2	1	2	2	1	3	4

Source: Author's census, August 1961.

Appendix V: Distribution of Aklavik Households Where Household Head is Aged 39 to 59

Eskimos

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	2	6

Indians

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	6

Permanent Whites

Number of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of such households	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	2

Source: Census Data, August 1961

Note: The above data reveal that native families are quite large on the average, as compared to the Canadian average. The multibreed and temporary white households were not described as the cases were too few. For the same reason "bush" Eskimos were not treated as distinct from the settlement Eskimos.

Appendix VI: Comparison of Dwelling Units

In attempting to classify the dwelling units, the author selected four variables and specified a simple index for each. The most precise variable was that of home furnishings. The four variables and their meaning are as follows:

(a) Home furnishings:

1. Toilet facilities - chemical, pail, none
2. Lighting - electricity, gas lamp
3. Heating - oil, coal, wood
4. Furnishings - more than basic essentials (radio, paintings)
   basic essentials (bed, table, chairs)

(b) Room-space:
1. Number of persons in house
2. Size of house

(c) House-care:
1. Tidy Interior
2. Clean Front
3. Attention to alterations

(d) Housing:
1. Type of material-log, shingle, shanty, tent.
2. Way constructed

Each household was compared on each variable and then a total judgment was made to select three levels of dwelling prestige. For example, on "A" level would be those households that were moderately or well furnished, well kept, ample room and good housing. These criteria are not as precise as possible but were considered adequate for the purposes of this study.

Appendix VII: Comparison of Eskimo and Indian Households in terms of "House-care"

	Well Kept	Mod. Kept	Poorly Kept
Sett. Eskimo	15% (5)	49% (17)	36% (13)
Indians	31% (9)	66% (19)	3% (1)

Source: Census, August 1961
Brackets refer to the actual number of households.

Appendix VIII: The Churches at Aklavik

In general, the differences in organization of the three churches are related to the fact that the Anglican and Catholic are ecclesiastic in form, whereas the Pentecostal is sect in form. The former maintain a clear distinction between clergy and laity, a formal doctrine, a strong authority structure and ideally strive to include all members of the society. The Pentecostal church places little stress on formal membership and theological doctrine. It emphasizes salvation rather than membership; thus a person may be a member of other churches as well. The critical factor in the membership of the Pentecostal group is the necessity of individual conversion--the acceptance of Christ as personal saviour. Moreover, the authority structure of the Pentecostal churches is based largely on charisma, rather than traditional and formal technical criteria. Aklavik Pentecostals are Alaskan Eskimos, and not strongly conversionist.

The religious official of the local Catholic church is a White from outside the delta. The Anglican priest is an Indian, locally born, but the power in the Anglican church appears to lie with the white female, from the outside, who serves as guardian of Anglican affairs in Aklavik. There are two Pentecostal ministers, an Eskimo and a White male. In this case, the Eskimo is the effective leader.

In addition to regular services, the "old guard" churches hold regular semi-official functions, such as movies, Women's auxiliary and youth clubs. Unlike the Catholic church, the Anglican also has special Indian and Eskimo services, where the respective native languages are used. The Pentecostal group meets quite frequently, as do other Pentecostal churches. These meetings are supplemented by the playing of tapes, many of which are in Eskimo and connect the local group to other such Eskimo groups in the region. The services are mostly conducted in Eskimo and feature the usual Pentecostal activity-guitars, loud catchy songs, extempore prayer, testimonials and weeping.

Appendix: Traditional Socialization Practices

In general, both Indian and Eskimo traditional socialization practices would be considered more lenient than those of the Canadian middle-class. According to D. Jenness (1960 : 420) children were treated with indulgence. It is difficult to make any distinction between Indian and Eskimo practices for little data are available on the Indians of this region. It does appear however, that the Indian family showed a stronger authority structure than the Eskimo family. Also there is some evidence (Birket-Smith , 1935) that the Eskimo custom of naming a child after a recently deceased relative resulted in very lenient socialization. The child was supposed to possess the soul of the deceased person and the result of this, for socialization, was that parents would not treat the child harshly through fear of offending the deceased person. For the above two reasons it appears that Eskimos would be more lenient than Indians, in their socialization practices.

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